The Late "Tad" Walter *Murray Kempton*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 22, 1963, 35 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
JUN
LIBRARY

Popes and Communists

Henry M. Pachter

Who's Blocking Desegregation?

Robert Coles

Beatrice Webb's Diary

Stanley Kauffmann

End of Empire

Oscar Gass

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
12-64 26744 APR 1-13-1
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Hot But Good

★ It was a good week for President Kennedy. Under the blazing sun on the American University campus he appealed to citizens to re-examine their prejudices toward the Soviet Union and to increase their contacts with it. He announced that he would reopen high level talks with Moscow for a test-ban treaty, and that he would allow no more atmospheric tests unless the Soviets began them first.

The sun beat out of a blue sky and we felt the sweat rolling down our shoulder blades as we sat there, bare-armed. The President had flown in from Hawaii after a gruelling round trip; he sounded weary. It was one of the best speeches he ever made, we thought. We have found it hard to characterize his manner; the best we can do is to record what we jotted down as he proceeded, speaking there on the green football field: ". . . Deep emotional feeling . . . Deeply solemn . . . Full glare of brutal heat . . . Slight breeze . . . Lofty, noble speech . . . Note of pleading – almost entreaty."

That was speech No. 1. Speech No. 2 was, of course, what he said on television to the deeply-stirred nation after that hot-eyed, angry little King Canute, Gov. Wallace of Alabama, vainly ordered the tide of desegregation not to roll into the university. As Mr. Kennedy spoke, two things in the situation were especially noteworthy: for once he was appealing over the heads of Congress to the country and showing a little emotion in doing it. And for once he was telling the Southern conservative Democrats to go to the devil; he was spokesman for *all* of the people, including the Negroes. Hurrah!

In a voice that is normally overly cool, level and intellectual, Mr. Kennedy injected scornful irony into his brief talk, particularly at one point. When we call this the "land of the free," he asked, do we mean "except for Negroes"? When we say, "no second-class citizens" do we mean "except for Negroes?" When we say we have "no master race" do we mean "except for Negroes?" It was a splendid speech; and on the same night on which he made it, Negro integration leader Medgar Evers was shot dead in the back in the hate-ridden capital of Mississippi.

The fact is, folks, the United States, whether we like it or not, is undergoing a colonial revolt right within its borders. It has bewildered Congress, it has bewildered the Republicans. That comical fellow, Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.), Senate Minority Leader, when asked what he thought of the Kennedy speech replied, in his waggish way, "I was planting flowers in my garden; I did not hear it." Someday Gabriel will sound his trumpet and laughable Everett Dirksen won't hear that, either.

Legislative Breakdown

★ As for Congress, there is going to be a Southern filibuster against the Kennedy civil rights bill, and at no time in history has a civil rights bill ever yet been overcome by cloture. Can the necessary 67 votes be summoned now? There is no real reason for saying "Yes," except, perhaps that legislative impotency means race disorder.

A Congressional breakdown is not unthinkable. Legislative inadequacy is more and more apparent. Britain put through a tax cut in a week; Congress may not be through with Kennedy's till October-November. After that the civil rights bill presumably will come and the session may last to Christmas. A Southern slowdown is already shaping up on other bills. When Congress can't or won't finish its work from year-end to year-end something has to give.

Page Keyserling

★ Everybody seems to know what's the matter with the American economy save Americans. Now the conservative Bank of International Settlements, at Basel, Switzerland, has spoken in its 33rd annual report. The bank casts a cool, critical, banker's eye at the world's problems; the United States, it notes, is still gripped by "unsolved economic problems." The solution – ? Why, simple enough, "more vigorous" action by government.

"Measures of fiscal (tax and spending) and monetary (interest rate) policy have been used only to a rather limited extent," says bank chairman Holtrop. And the BIS report itself says that "amidst the wider public" in the US an "effective full-employment policy has been hampered" by belief "in spontaneous private demand" (*i.e.*, operation of the free enterprise system) "and by misunderstanding of fiscal policy" (*i.e.*, the Eisenhower budget-deficit bogies).

The report praises the Kennedy tax cut program but observes drily that its size "is not designed to lift total demand to a full-employment level over any specified time period." Page Leon Keyserling, somebody.

Had Enough?

★ Senator Symington (D, Mo.) investigated excessive post-Korean War material stock-piling and discovered that we had $8 or $10 billion worth of unneeded goods, ranging from duck feathers to nickel ore. But the greatest stock-piling folly he did not investigate; it is sacrosanct, protected by the patriotic mystique and the uranium mines lobby. It is the $2 billion spent annually to manufacture more nuclear bombs when we already have bombs enough to annihilate mankind.

Scripps Howard reporter Henry J. Taylor has nibbled at the edge of it: we have already, he says, stored enough nuclear materials to deliver, God forbid, the equivalent of Hiroshima on each 100,000 people in all 2,000 cities of that size throughout the world – and then to come back and do so 125 times. We have the capacity to obliterate all cities on earth. But that is not enough, we are charging taxpayers to kill them 125 times over. How dead is a man when he's dead? Obviously not as dead as when he has been atomized 125 times! The US has an estimated equivalent of five tons of TNT for every human being on earth, and we keep on making the stuff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 148 Number 25 Issue 2535 June 22, 1963*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.**Copyright© 1963 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.**Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

THE WEEK

3. Law and Justice; Diem's Other Crusade; Reaching the Russian's; Civilian Supremacy; L'Affaire Biberman; Retraining the Jobless

ARTICLES

9. Francis E. Walter by Murray Kempton
11. Foreign Reports: Peru and Great Britain
12. Whither the White Belt? by Stanley Uys
14. The Tory Bind by Denis Healey
15. Popes and Communists by Henry M. Pachter
17. Who's Blocking Desegregation? by Robert Coles

DEPARTMENTS

21. Books 27. Feiffer
30. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Editors – Christopher Jencks, Robert Evett Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Assistant to the Publisher – F. R. Ruskin
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Walter Z. Laqueur, Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Law and Justice

Not until last week had the President said publicly that the Negro has yet to be freed from "the bonds of injustice . . . from social and economic oppression," that "those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence," and that "those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality." The President saluted citizens who "are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line"; he saluted them "for their honor – their courage." The President too deserves a salute for his ready acknowledgement that "we are confronted primarily with a moral issue," and that "legislation . . . cannot solve this problem alone."

The coherence of our legal order demands that force be applied to coerce those who disobey law, but that does not necessarily make the law good or help it endure. What we have been witnessing these past few years is the use of "law and order" as a pretext by segregationists to keep a white peace. Now, 100 years after the freeing of the slaves, the federal government is beginning to say that it will discriminate in favor of those who have been discriminated against. That is an historic change, and it is to the President's credit.

When the Supreme Court acted in 1954, some thought that since legal rights had been affirmed, justice had been obtained. But judge-made law reached the limit of its effectiveness as early as 1957; gradually it began to be understood that political action is needed to sustain judicial law when it is strongly challenged. There are good laws, and there are occasionally bad laws. It is within our tradition to disobey bad laws – remember Thoreau, the abolitionists, and the underground railway for fugitive slaves. The South opposed and disobeyed the Supreme Court's law because its leaders thought that law bad. That was the South's critical misjudgment. The South's opposition was wrong because the law in question is good, but it took until last week for a President of the United States to say that.

There is no cause to lament the fact that we are about to fall off the square edges of the conventional legal universe. That is more or less what happened in the Thirties, and American society was saved. It was illegal when the United Automobile Workers "sat in" at the Ford Plant; but the state and federal governments protected these workers. The thing to lament is not that the Negroes have taken to the streets, but rather the constriction and inadequacy with which both the Administration and Northern punditry reacted so long and so futilely to the rising, profoundly justified expectations of the Negro.

After all these years of unthinking emphasis on law and order, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The First 12 Days of June, 1963

► *The Mayor and City Council of Shreveport, La., reject a request to set up a bi-racial committee.*
► *Medgar Evers, 37-year-old NAACP official murdered in Jackson, Mississippi.*
► *20 African diplomats in Washington complain they are discriminated against in D.C. barbershops.*
► *Three Negroes and two whites slugged in Atlanta when they seek service in a cafeteria.*
► *Thirteen Negroes refused service at a state building cafeteria in Tallahassee, Florida.*
► *Fifty-six Negroes arrested in Savannah while attempting to get service at restaurants.*
► *In Clarksdale, Miss., the homes of two Negro integration leaders are shot into.*
► *Forty-seven more Negroes arrested in Jackson, for marching (bringing the two-week total to 664).*
► *Six white Protestant churches in Jackson turn away 22 Negro worshippers.*
► *One killed and one wounded by gunfire when 500 whites battle 50 Negroes in Lexington, N. C.*
► *Twelve Negroes in Nashville, Tenn., arrested for blocking the entrance to a store.*
► *Prince Edward County (Va.) Board of Supervisors votes to continue keeping public schools closed.*

► A Negro is admitted to previously all-white Armstrong College in Savannah, Georgia.
► All leading motels, hotels and most restaurants in Nashville agree to desegregate.
► Three Negroes enroll at University of Alabama.
► A bi-racial committee in Baton Rouge, La., holds its first meeting.
► Negroes play golf at the Municipal Course in Jackson (but chairs and tables removed from clubhouse patio to prevent their being seated).
► Clarksville, Tenn., desegregates all public parks.
► Cleve McDowell attends his first class at the University of Mississippi, without incident.
► Winston-Salem becomes the third city in North Carolina to announce voluntary desegregation of major restaurants and hotels.
► Pupil Placement Board of Richmond, Va., assigns 126 Negroes to predominantly white schools.
► Three Negroes (the first) enroll at Texas A & M.
► Forty Negroes served at previously white lunch counters and tables in Greenville, N. C.
► University of Georgia graduates two Negroes.
► Arkansas Supreme Court rules unconstitutional four 1958 laws the NAACP contended were drawn up to suppress its activity.
► Thirteen-man committee named by the San Antonio, Texas, City Council to work out desegregation of all privately- and publicly-owned facilities.
► Service in most Spartanburg, S. C., restaurants and lunch counters opened to Negroes.

adoption of a sympathetic attitude toward the current movement of protest has not unnaturally been halting and embarrassed. For this movement is outside the law. The attempt has been made to say that it is not, but it is. This, as we have previously pointed out, does not mean that brutal police action against peaceful demonstrators is either lawful or justified. Nor does it mean that convictions of demonstrators will necessarily be upheld by the Supreme Court. It means only that there can be no blanket constitutional right to demonstrate in large numbers and at will on city streets. Local authority has power to regulate and even at times to forbid such demonstrations in the interest of public convenience and order, just as it has such power with respect to picketing or parades. This power is itself limited, and in many cases, it will turn out to have been wrongfully employed. But a movement of mass demonstrations carried out at the will of the demonstrators is, as a general proposition, outside the law, even though peaceful and just.

Now the Administration is introducing legislation in Congress to expand the law so as to enclose Negro protests, perhaps not realizing that conventional law cannot enclose such a movement. The expansion of the law so that, as the President said, the federal government may "participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education," and may afford "all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public" – is all to the good. Certainly once these bills have been introduced there must be a mighty effort to have them passed; failure would set us back immeasurably. But it would be illusory to think that this can be enough, and that the just demands of Negro marchers can thus be satisfied.

On the day the President spoke, James Reston argued, as he had before, that the federal government cannot consistently take its stand on the law when it faces Governor Wallace of Alabama and then "support demonstrations that break the law." The purpose of new legislation, therefore, he continued, will be to bring the objectives of the demonstrators within the law and thereby render it unjustifiable for them to continue marching. But Mr. Reston's dilemma – are we or are we not for law? – arises because like so many others in this most legalistic of societies, he doesn't really understand the sources, the nature and the limited possibilities of law. The law cannot enclose all social action. We cannot by total reliance on law escape our duty to judge right and wrong. It was too narrow a view of Southern massive resistance to condemn it merely because it was illegal. Persistence in that narrow view leads, for those who hold it, to the logical necessity of condemning Negro demonstrations because they are extra-legal and sometimes illegal. Mr. Reston wants to avoid "a conflict between law and jus-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tice." Such conflicts are nothing new or regrettable. Through them – hopefully in peace – societies change, and the processes of law, establishing norms that will not need to be enforced, are enabled to reign once again.

New legislation or not, other, extra-legal courses of action are essential if Americans are to master this revolutionary current. First, the President's moral commitment, expressed last week, must be embraced by all who serve under him, and it must be emotional and fervent. Gestures *are* required. For once, the image *is* important. The government needs the friendship and confidence of the Negro masses as much as it needs the friendship and confidence of the emerging nations of Latin America and all over the world. The President ought to travel and speak in the South, and not in the customary establishment places either. That, at this moment, is far more important than his ill-timed scheduled trip to Europe.

Second, there is a great deal of mediation and conciliation still to be done. The Justice Department is well started in this work, and the President himself has begun by meeting with business executives and labor leaders. But this work needs to be expanded, systematized, and institutionalized by statute, as Senator Williams of New Jersey has suggested. The Senator's proposal is not at all the same as that advanced by the then-Senator Lyndon Johnson early in 1959, which this journal opposed. Senator Johnson wanted to substitute conciliation for execution of court orders in school cases. He would have mediated between the law (itself the product of compromise) and those who were disobeying it. The upshot – especially in view of the control Johnson would have given Governors over the composition of the mediation body – would have been to delay practically indefinitely any meaningful desegregation. That is far different from taking an active hand in seeing that the extra-legal demands of Negro marchers are in some measure met.

Third, there ought to be a public pledge that when violence threatens and the peace is either not kept or unjustly kept locally, federal force will be brought to bear. The danger of violence will continue to exist, as the murder of Medgar Evers, the NAACP official who was shot outside his home in Jackson last week, freshly reminds us; that is a condition of our times; it is something to be regretted, to be feared, to be contained where possible – but faced squarely. Domestically as well as internationally, there are worse things than the danger of violence, and among those worse things, sometimes, is the legal *status quo*. The US has more than once come to grief abroad by assuming a fixed legalistic position and by refusing to accept this fact of violent change – although our own history should have conditioned us to it.

Finally, the Administration should speed up administrative action. The President last week ordered the Secretary of Labor and the Postmaster General to see that no federal funds for retraining or job placement or post office maintenance are used to support segregation. Some months ago he issued a housing order. Is it being administered, and how vigorously? How much more could the Office of Education do toward aiding and prodding desegregation in Southern schools and toward ameliorating *de facto* segregation in the North? Is pressure being applied through the numerous federal grant and aid programs – in higher education, in vocational training, in hospitals (quite aside from litigation), in public libraries? The answer to these questions, at this moment, is a qualified no. Yet this is the kind of lawful, although not, in the conventional sense, legal action, that can enable the Administration to take charge of events, rather than be engulfed by them.

Diem's Other Crusade

To the dismal story of the Vietnam war – *Time* of June 8 speaks of 14,000 American soldiers now committed there, although official figures have yet to go over 11,000 – the mandarinal dictatorship which the US supports has added another ignominious page. When on May 8 a peaceful crowd of Vietnamese Buddhists sought to celebrate the 2507th birthday of the Buddha (in other words, the exact replica of Christmas and as holy a day in the Orient as the birth of Jesus is in the West) in Hué, the capital of central Vietnam, South Vietnamese troops, armed, trained and equipped by the US shot into the crowd and killed 11 paraders, including women and children.

Their crime had been that, in a country in which they represent about 70 percent of the population, they had run afoul of the particular prejudices of the chief of state and of his relatives and associates, who are Catholics. According to the official communiqué, they had compounded their "crime" by flying the Buddhist flag, a combination of horizontal and vertical blue, red, and saffron-yellow stripes; and, so says the communiqué, that was an "unconstitutional" act. The flying of the white-and-gold Catholic flag, widely displayed at all major public events in Vietnam, apparently is not subject to the same interdiction. What happened at Hué was only the tiny straw that broke the camel's back. There has been a long series of more or less open humiliations inflicted upon the Buddhist or Confucianist majority by Diem's cliques: many American military advisers bring back well-substantiated reports that capable and energetic Vietnamese officers have been bypassed for promotions because they refused to change religion; or, vice-versa, that incapable officers have been promoted because they assiduously

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cultivated Msgr. Ngo Dinh Thuc, Archbishop of Hué and Diem's brother.

Earlier, on March 25, 1963, four senior Buddhist *bonzes* (priests) were tried by a Vietnamese Army court-martial for being members of an allegedly "Communist" cell and, without the benefit of an effective defense, sentenced to long prison terms. The news of what to the vast majority of the population must have seemed like a new wave of anti-Buddhist persecution (for there had been other incidents, carefully censored out of the dispatches), spread throughout Vietnam and what initially seemed a minor incident soon snowballed into a nationwide movement of indignation.

Saigon reacted as usual. The Diem government at first tried to put the blame on the Viet-Cong guerrillas, but they, unfortunately, did not have the kind of armored vehicles (in fact, they have no vehicles of any kind) that were very much in evidence at Hué. When, much too late, the regime admitted that it was at fault, it refused to prosecute the officials responsible for the butchery. Little wonder: Hué is not only the spiritual fief of Msgr. Ngo Dinh Thuc, but also of Diem's younger brother Ngo Dinh Can, who (as Mr. Nguyen Thai indicated in the previous issue of *NR*) runs all of central Vietnam like a feudal kingdom; and the officials involved were the cronies of Diem's own brothers. All that the Diem regime would arouse itself to do to assuage the indignation of the bulk of its citizenry was to appoint a committee to investigate the problem to death. Diem himself made one of his usual rambling speeches in which high-sounding words about "national discipline" and "national unity" were heard, and then he promptly asked for US Air Force pilots and transport planes to ferry his crack troops to Hué – not to face the Viet-Cong but to cow the unarmed Buddhists. After an initial moment of hesitation, the US refused to commit itself to that peculiar aspect of the Vietnamese "crusade."

Then, two things happened: Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of Diem and the official "First Lady" of the bachelor-president, issued a venom-filled statement through her own propaganda tool, the "Vietnam Women's Solidarity Association," in which she purely and simply attacked the Buddhist hierarchy as "unwitting instruments of Communism"; and Buddhists in Saigon demonstrated their bitterness at what they called Diem's breach of faith by further public parades and fasts. Buddhist flags defiantly flew from pagodas in which Buddhists were barricaded while troops sought to starve them out by cutting off their food and water supplies. And on June 9, one 73-year-old Buddhist priest, the Rev. Quang Duc, committed an act of martyrdom which, by Western standards, would earn him sainthood: in order to show that the struggle of the Buddhists was purely religious and not Communist-inspired, he incinerated himself with flaming gasoline in the middle of Saigon under the eyes of hundreds of horrified onlookers, while other faithful kept the Saigon fire brigade away by throwing themselves under the wheels of the vehicles.

The sheer idiocy of the Diem regime astounds: here is a government which, by the accounts of its most naïve supporters, "controls" (whatever *that* word means in a guerrilla war) only one-half of its own population and can count on the full loyalty of perhaps ten percent – precisely the 1.3 million Catholics. In order to deprive the enemy of its civilian support, it must put ten million of its people behind the barbed wire of the "strategic hamlets." The latter, according to the "hardnosed" Washington planners, are the key to the Vietnamese counterinsurgency program; should the Vietnamese refuse to participate willingly in the scheme, the whole Vietnamese Army and its US advisers would not suffice to keep the population inside, or to keep it from handing provisions to the Viet-Cong. And with that much riding on the "strategic hamlets," Diem hands the Communists a ready-made issue where discreet prodding on their part (and they are already at it) could incite the Buddhists to apply peaceful resistance methods to the whole program. Little wonder that the news from Vietnam, mercifully kept from the American public eye through the closer-to-home but not unrelated events in Alabama and Mississippi, are sending shivers down the spine of American policy planners, though not down the spine of Roscoe Drummond, who reported on June 3 that "the trend [in Vietnam] has been so significantly and steadily favorable for so many months that now there is a very real confidence that victory is within reach." But inside the US Government there are unattributed statements to the effect that, perhaps, Diem is not the "only" man in Vietnam after all.

This had been said by many friendly observers as early as four years ago. It is not without irony that the quasi-official *Informations Catholiques Internationales* of March 15, 1963 (*i.e., before* the Hué troubles) carried a long article on Vietnam in which it warned Saigon against exploitation of the Church for its own political purposes. The article approvingly quotes a Vietnamese Catholic scholar as saying that "there is no political regime which [as such] represents Catholicism" and warns against processions which make it appear to the Buddhist onlookers "as if the streets were the property of the Church." The article ends on the citation of a Vietnamese priest who had recently returned from the first part of the Ecumenical Council in Rome: "I had learned there that it was not obedience that was a virtue, but liberty."

If we are very lucky, there still may be time to learn that lesson for ourselves in Vietnam.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reaching the Russians

It was a coincidence that the President received, shortly before he was to speak on peace and security at American University on June 10, a message from Mr. Khrushchev agreeing to top level discussions in Moscow on a comprehensive test ban treaty. This news, which the President incorporated in his speech at the last minute, added to the timeliness of his remarks, but they were opportune for other reasons as well. His call for "a relaxation of tensions without relaxing our guard"; for a recognition that "no government or social system is so evil that its people must be considered to be lacking in virtue"; for "general and complete disarmament – designed to take place by stages, permitting parallel political developments to build the new institutions of peace which would take the place of arms"; for averting "those confrontations which present an adversary with a choice of either a humiliating retreat or a nuclear war" – was opportune also because the President is about to meet with the West Germans, and that usually makes the Russians nervous.

Moreover, his announcement that "the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so" was a well-timed hint and perhaps even an assist to Mr. Khrushchev on the eve of Sino-Soviet talks. Soviet agreement to a test ban would appear to the Chinese as a calculated insult – rather as the Nassau agreement appeared to de Gaulle. It would imply an alliance between Russia and the United States to prevent China from developing her own atomic weapons just at the moment when she may be on the point of holding her first test explosion. The President thus put it squarely to the Soviet Premier: if he will help put the genie back into the bottle, we can work together on other things.

The entire speech breathed a fresh and hopeful spirit that is altogether different from the stale air of the Dulles era.

Civilian Supremacy

It was General Taylor and not Secretary McNamara who lectured the graduating class at West Point on civilian supremacy. Taylor reassured the new Army officers that civilian leaders do, indeed, listen to professional advice, and if the professional does not persuade, said Taylor, "it may be that he is misunderstood or that his view has been only a partial one, outweighed by other and higher considerations of national policy." These words were certainly more than ceremonial obeisance to the civilian supremacy doctrine, coming as they did from a General who could teach the Air Force much about the virtues of patience and persistence in order to persuade civilian officials.

But a somewhat bitter and discordant sub-theme emerged in Taylor's speech in which he made clear that some civilians ought to be more supreme than others. As he phrased it, "No theoretical study, no intellectual attainments on the part of the layman can be a substitute for the experience of having lived and delivered under the stress of war." These critical remarks were directed at those civilian "Whiz Kids" in the Pentagon and in defense institutes whose highly erudite researches have replaced "military judgment" in many of McNamara's decisions on operations, strategy and weapons systems. Although the Defense Secretary has denied down-grading the military chiefs and their Joint Staff, there is a deep-rooted resentment, shared by many Congressmen, against the civilian systems analysts and engineers. Dr. Harold Brown, for example, who as Director of Defense Research and Engineering is the No. 3 man in the Defense Department, has been attacked repeatedly on Capitol Hill this spring for his youth and lack of military experience. Many Pentagon officers would like to see him go, but cannot say so very openly.

The President's recent refusal to reappoint Admiral George W. Anderson as Chief of Naval Operations demonstrates that he will not brook policy insubordination from top military men. Nonetheless, the outspoken complaint of the President's most-trusted military adviser, General Taylor, raises the question of whether a sacrificial civilian lamb from the Pentagon may soon be offered up to placate the military.

L'Affaire Biberman

The decision at the University of Chicago to close a weapons research facility in its Laboratory of Applied Sciences by September 1 ends weapons development at that campus after 20 years. It was on December 2, 1942, that the first sustained nuclear reaction was achieved under the West Stands of Stagg Field. That was the university's first big project in weapons R&D. Since then, there has been a strong tendency at the institution to withdraw from the weapons business. This, at last, has become "finalized," as they say in the military, by abandonment of Department of Defense contracts for research in anti-submarine devices and ballistic missile defense.

Curiously enough, the decision was not motivated by but forced on the university administration, which didn't really want to make it. The prime mover was the chief scientist of the weapons laboratory himself, Lucien M. Biberman, a physicist.

Biberman, who is associate director of the Laboratory for Applied Sciences, wanted full faculty partici-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pation in it. This was declined by the university administration. In that case, Biberman advised Dean Adrian A. Albert of the Division of Physical Sciences, the weapons laboratory ought to be closed.

After the matter had been thrashed out with President George W. Beadle, Biberman's recommendations – that the laboratory be closed and that he resign – were accepted. That ended about $900,000 a year worth of applied weapons research of the "find a better spear" variety. About $8 million in defense basic research does, however, continue.

The situation which precipitated Biberman's ultimatum and the university's response was the status of the Laboratory of Applied Sciences. The laboratory was a wartime creation for the handling of federally funded, applied research projects, mostly in weaponry. It is not and never was a part of the university's academic tradition and its research men never have had faculty status; they were "outsiders." Moreover, the classified nature of their work made the laboratory and its scattered branches pariahs among university institutions.

"It was not the kind of an activity the university is primarily interested in," an administrative officer said.

Thus the laboratory and its workers were segregated from the main stream of academic life by a *cordon sanitaire* of intellectual and procedural conventions. By keeping the laboratory behind the pale, the university administrators believed they were protecting the essential nature of the university.

Beadle and his associates subscribe to the Harvard University statement of policy, drawn in 1961, in which the university was defined as an institution that must remain true to its function and not become an agency of government. "It is entitled to demand complete intellectual freedom," the Harvard report on its relation to the federal government stated. "To this end it must ask for a measure of detachment from current crises and routine procedures as necessary conditions of fulfilling its fundamental purpose. . . ."

Last year, the director of the Laboratory, Frank Bothwell, left to become chief scientist for the Center of Naval Analysis, Arlington, Va. Since then, the multi-branched Laboratory has been without a head.

Biberman, who has been in charge of the weapons branch located in Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry, proposed that a member of the university faculty be placed at the head of the Laboratory. "My hope was to establish a close relationship between the really magnificent faculty and the personnel of the laboratory staff," he said.

When the administration rejected the idea, Biberman asked, in effect: If you don't want to legitimize this work, why do it? Why, indeed? was the administration's response. "On the advice of Dr. Lucien M. Biberman, associate director, it has been decided that the activity at the Museum of Science and Industry directed by him will be dissolved," Dean Albert ruled.

The space instrumentation and solid state physic research units of the Laboratory will continue as before. Biberman will go to work in the fall at the Institute of Defense Analysis, a military research group in Washington. The 25 scientists, technicians, clerks and secretaries in his unit are seeking other jobs.

Retraining the Jobless

A Senate labor subcommittee headed by Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania has been told that existing federal job retraining efforts are largely ignoring the over-age, under-educated workers who need help most; that the emphasis should not be on immediately-available jobs, as it is now, but rather, increased employability; and that a far bigger financial investment will be required before retraining can make a dent in unemployment.

Statistics documenting the first criticism were presented by Seymour Wolfbein, the Labor Department's deputy manpower administrator. They covered the first 19,000 jobless workers enrolled under the Manpower Development and Training Act passed by Congress last year. Only 11 percent of the trainees were 45 or older, he said, although nearly 30 percent of the nation's unemployed are in this age group. Workers with less than an eighth-grade education comprise about 20 percent of all unemployed, but only 2.7 percent of those in the MDTA sample.

Does it pay to retrain these "hard-core" unemployed if their chances of finding work are so poor? Gerald G. Somers, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin, thought that, "Retraining allowances will usually take the place of unemployment compensation or relief payments. . . . Even if there were some small additions to the costs, in what better way can the unemployed spend their enforced idleness? . . . Therefore, one may well favor a greatly expanded retraining program even if . . . no immediate jobs were created."

However, existing federal programs operate on the principle that workers shouldn't be retrained unless there will be jobs waiting for them, preferably in the immediate vicinity, when they finish. Otherwise, according to conservatives in Congress, retraining is just another boondoggle. Local chambers of commerce, particularly those in depressed areas, don't want their citizens to leave home, regardless of how barren the local economic landscape may be. By comparison, in Sweden, an unemployed worker who can't find a job at home and looks elsewhere gets his travel expenses paid by the government. When he's hired, the government pays his moving bill.

A study completed by Professor Somers of some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1,500 unemployed in West Virginia, indicates that the present emphasis on immediate employment discounts the real value of retraining. His statistics show that while 47 percent of those who completed ARA retraining courses were employed one month after they finished, this percentage increased more or less steadily afterward, to 63 percent 13 months after the courses ended. The Somers study also found that those who completed ARA training were much more likely to find jobs than those who didn't.

One group Dr. Somers studied in McDowell County, W. Va., included many workers who left the state after being trained under the ARA program but didn't have any better luck finding work than those who stayed. If the government had a better idea of where job opportunities existed, and made relocation allowances contingent upon a move to these areas, it could save the migrant unemployed a great deal of discouragement.

Even without the prospect of employment, there are intangible benefits to a policy which encourages relocation. Dr. Somers found that retrainees who left McDowell County "had greater confidence in the labor market" than those who stayed. They considered job-hunting "worthwhile," and were actively looking for work. Other witnesses added that by encouraging relocation, the federal government, at the very least, would be distributing the burden on retraining facilities, unemployment and relief funds more evenly, and giving the long-term unemployed a better chance to find work when the economy starts to shift into a higher gear.

One of the most serious indictments of the whole program came from William L. Batt, head of the Area Redevelopment Administration. Given the government's present philosophy, the most important element in the whole retraining process is the supply of job openings, for they govern the number of classes and retrainees. Batt, who has been visiting ARA and MDTA classes around the country, found that local officials of the state employment service wait for employers to come to them with requests for new workers. If, instead, these officials went out and contacted every firm frequently, they'd find enough additional job openings to enlarge the retraining program significantly: "This is exactly what happened in Laredo, Texas, and I have seen the people training there for jobs which nobody knew existed a short while ago? It has happened in a dozen other places [but] it should be happening in thousands of places."

Training projects for about 64,000 unemployed workers have been approved to date under the ARA and MDTA programs, Batt said. "But when viewed against the 5.8 million currently jobless workers, it is apparent that we are not doing enough."

PHIL HIRSCH

The Lord of the Flies

Francis E. Walter

The death a couple of weeks ago of Francis E. Walter must have presented *The Washington Post* with a special problem of delicacy. He had been for eight years chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and was an author of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act; both are particular objects of the *Post's* distress. But still the *Post* is the hometown paper of that Washington of which Francis Walter had made himself a substantial citizen for more than 30 years. The local banker may not have been altogether admirable; yet the local editor must observe his passing with certain respect.

The House of Representatives, the *Post* decided, has lost "one of its ablest, most influential and most controversial figures. . . . Mr. Walter held positions of great power. He used those positions with the parliamentary skill developed during 30 years of House service and with the toughness of a man fervent in patriotism and sure of his own convictions. . . . [As chairman of HUAC] he enforced a measure of discipline and order upon a group which under preceding chairmen had been altogether free-wheeling and irresponsible. *The Washington Post* has always been vigorously critical of the Committee. . . . But Francis Walter was always unpredictable. He called the shots as he saw them. And on many issues he went into the lists against administrative arbitrariness and frenzied chauvinism. . . . He was a rough and hard fighter, sometimes indeed a vindictive one, resentful of criticism, intolerant of opposition, a formidable exponent of his deeply felt beliefs in a country where conflict of opinion is the essence of the political process."

The *Post* engaged its problem bravely; but the result is less a monument than a battlefield where attackers and defenders alike lie slaughtered and smoking. The struggle to serve both truth and delicacy ended, as it often does, with the service of neither. The *Post* says that Francis E. Walter "called the shots as he saw them," that he was "controversial" and a "rough and hard fighter." All these judgments call up virile images of the American frontier; they are complimentary adjectives, until we remember that Francis E. Walter exercised the qualities they describe with the power to subpoena private citizens, and then they become all too horrible.

Congressman Walter died of cancer, under circumstances both protracted and cruel. Custom enforces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

silence upon those who disliked him living. It is a good custom because the living owe it to the dead not to nudge the elbow of the recording angel. But the recording angel must have done his business by now; and there is such a thing as responsibility to history. There is a point which ought to be made if only on the excuse that it is a point larger than himself.

It is a point about the institutions of government, and is felt less in the *Post* editorial than in the speeches of gratitude his colleagues in the House delivered from the floor on Francis E. Walter's last birthday, when they knew that he was dying and could read what they said. One looks at their speeches and is pleased to find not one hypocritical word; they are obviously and appallingly sincere.

"As chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration Matters," said Congressman Libonati of Illinois, "[Congressman Walter] receives the critical lambastings of ethnic groups who question the quota limitations of the McCarran-Walter Act affecting their respective groups."

Now this is the Congressman Libonati who mustered Italo-American pickets protesting those television crime shows which used to give their gangster characters Italian names. And, under the McCarran-Walter Act, any Italian who applied for permanent entry into the United States in 1952 would have to wait nine years to be admitted, while an Englishman could come in tomorrow. As an Italo-American, Congressman Libonati protests private defamation; as a club member, he not only accepts legal discrimination but defends its author "against the critical lambastings of ethnic groups."

The particular qualities that earned Francis E. Walter this immunity was caught best by Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana:

"I suspect that there are few members of the House to whom 'Tad' Walter has not extended a helping hand on immigration bills, on patronage matters, in campaigns for reelection, and in countless personal cases."

We talk then about an eminently clubbable man in a society where clubmanship is the first principle. Francis Walter handled patronage and private member immigration bills; he was thus keeper of the door through which Congressmen had to pass to serve the special interest of their constituents – the job for their incompetent nephew, the entrance visa for their displaced uncle. And, if the Birchers fell upon him, a Congressman could turn to Francis Walter for a certificate of patriotism signed with the authority of the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

There is, in fact, no record that Congressman Walter ever did a malignant or petty thing to anyone who was not a stranger to him. The *Post* speaks of the "measure of discipline and order" which he enforced upon the HUAC when he was its chairman; this compliment is deserved if it means no more than that when he was chairman, the committee never abused anyone who was powerful or had powerful friends; it called only oboe players, college students, actors half-in, half-out of work, only in other words people it could hurt. The record of the House Un-American Activities Committee has always been disgusting; how can it be said that it was more or less disgusting under a chairman who certified the fabrication of the *Operation Abolition* movie or who dared the Protestant clergy to come in and prove that Billy James Hargis was incorrect when he charged that the Communists had infiltrated the National Council of Churches?

Men go to prison for contempt of Congress most often because they offend the vanity of its chairmen. Francis Walter tried his best to send more men to jail than any HUAC chairman before him; it was a grievance that he was frustrated so often by the Supreme Court. The appeasement of his vanity was a constant concern for both the enlightened and the powerful. The United States Committee for Refugees thought it a piece of wisdom to present him with its 1962 citation ("deep concern for the problems of migrants and refugees"); that gesture did it little good. The Kennedy Administration annoyed him by nominating an Immigration Commissioner who had once criticized the McCarran-Walter Law; its punishment was not only to be forced to withdraw the nomination but to endure another year of the stewardship of General Joseph Swing. But, having shown his authority, Congressman Walter cooperated with the Administration on truly consequential things, such for example as the enlargement of the House Rules Committee.

His vanity was thus manageable; and it was his having been manageable that gave the *Post* so much torment. He was an establishment figure as Joe McCarthy never was, not merely because he was an expert parliamentarian and both pro-labor and big with Bethlehem Steel, but also because he was clubbable and McCarthy was not. Francis Walter could be sincerely mourned by official Washington because he hurt so few people who were not private citizens.

Such observations seem owed the truth. As for the due of delicacy, the Irish have a formula. After Frank Hague's displacement as Mayor of Jersey City, his enemy successors began an investigation of his alleged defalcations. The thickets were tangled; the investigation went on and on with no tangible result until Frank Hague died. There was talk then of dropping the matter, but the chief investigator reported his passion for justice unappeased. "We still intend to prove," he said once, "that Frank Hague, *God be good to him*, stole this city blind." In that generous, realistic spirit, God be good to Francis E. Walter.

MURRAY KEMPTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN REPORTS

PERU: *The Society of Colonial Dames*

★ Fernando Belaunde Terry, the new president of Peru, was pictured on a poster in last year's election seated astride a horse, facing backwards, shouting "Forward," as the horse was led off by three Communist demons. Belaunde then finished second, behind Victor Haya de la Torre. Whether or not he was in the hands of the Communists, his sources of support were vaguely defined and insecure, for in the first days of Congress, Belaunde's supporters walked out. Further revelation of his political acumen were denied because the army seized power.

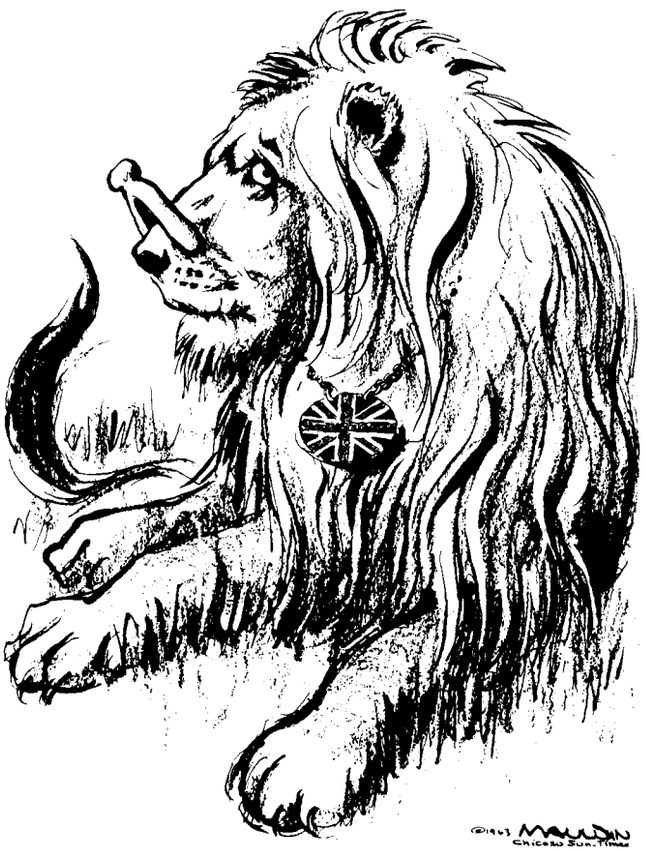
Belaunde leads the *Partido Accion Popular*, referred to in this country as "left-center," as distinct from Haya de la Torre's "leftist" APRA and General Odria's "rightest" National Union. Belaunde has stated his position in a rather different manner: "I am neither left nor right," he said, "I prefer to be called a man looking forward." What this means, nobody knows.

Very little is clear about the new president, if indeed, the junta permits him to become president. The election was a gift from them to the tiny number of upper-class Peruvians deemed fit to vote. It was a fulfillment of their promises on seizing power last summer, with the implicit understanding that Haya de la Torre should not win again. The junta has it in for Haya de la Torre because in 1933 he led a revolt against the army. Belaunde's substantial victory last week over the APRA leader is less an affirmation of himself, than it is a confirmation of the decline in esteem among Peruvians of APRA and its leader who have discouraged their supporters through compromise and vacillation.

Belaunde is by trade an architect, educated in Texas and France. His particular dream has been to construct roads atop the Andes, originating in Colombia and running through Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia in a recreation of the Inca empire, and he is now suggesting the use of Alliance funds to this end. This may be an estimable aim, but it will make little immediate difference to the present descendants of the Incas, who number half of Peru's 10.5 million population. Many of them do not even know what country they live in. They just know the people who own them. Two percent of Peru's people, sometimes referred to as the "Society of Colonial Dames," control over 70 percent of all arable land, and they treat the Indians in the valleys and mountain slopes as slaves. In Lima, the capital, one million Indians dwell in unspeakable slums. Each year half the children born in these slums die. The Peruvian Indian has a life expectancy of 32 years. It is probably unfair to judge Belaunde on the basis of his prior political insufficiencies, yet one cannot help but remember that the aristocrats of Peru, who play at politics, have been amusing themselves of late by preparing elaborate but vague schemes for social improvement. This has been a major occupation of the junta, toward which Belaunde last week was striking the most obsequious posture. What Peru needs immediately is wide-ranging land reform and slum clearance, not idle talk by the aristocrats. The work of their fine hands already has been shown by the thoroughgoing manner in which they have ravished the population. So well have they done their work, that the descendants of the Incas even lack the zest to rise up and cut their throats.

GREAT BRITAIN: *SuperMac on the Ropes*

★ Mr. Macmillan has prevailed on President Kennedy to stop over at Birch Grove, the Prime Minister's Sussex place, on June 29-30 just when the encounter has been robbed of any electoral value for the Tories – which is presumably why Kennedy is coming. ("Nothing can save Macmillan now, not even the President," said a Washington official last week, in justification of the trip). But even when Kennedy was playing hard to get, the government had been pretty confident that the President could be drawn into a meeting before the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

autumn – to suit Tory plans. Otherwise Kennedy's reluctance would have been interpreted not just as the snub direct, but as a deliberate intervention in British politics on Harold Wilson's behalf. Now any chance of Macmillan plumping for an October election is off, unless the Tories disintegrate utterly over the Profumo scandal. Kennedy's brief visit may still help Macmillan to interest his distracted party in other things besides the war minister and the model. But it is not likely to help all that much.

Tory morale was sagging as badly as at Suez time before the Profumo business broke into the open. In fact it was the May Gallup poll figures – a week before the Profumo confession – which showed Labour to be lengthening its lead dramatically in the country and thereby left no possibility that, even with a fair economic wind, a Conservative recovery could come in time to win an October election. The revelation of Profumo's private life has damaged the party horribly among the upholders of traditional middle-class morality, but in the Commons itself it is the fact that Profumo lied to the House in trying to stave off a whispering campaign in March which is the bigger scandal. It means to the bluff Tory ranks that even Conservative ministers cannot be trusted when they give their word – a new experience for the simple-minded.

Macmillan himself is exposed to attack because he trusted Profumo and because, as head of the security services, he should have had reports showing that his war minister was attending dubious parties at which the Russian assistant naval attaché, Captain Ivanov, was also among those indulging themselves. Ivanov himself was under security surveillance all the time he was in London, and Labour is already asking how much did Macmillan know? This is now the supreme test of the Prime Minister's political dexterity – and of Conservative discipline. There are mutterings among the old loyalists that the party must now "take its medicine," a masochistic but honest belief that the electorate should be called in – almost certainly to decide that the party will be given five years to live down its mistakes and recover its nervous energy. Macmillan will fight this; it is his instinct to do so. But his credit looks about exhausted.

SIR ROY AND DR. VERWOERD GO FISHING

Whither the White Belt?

Cape Town

Just as the United States gave Marshall Aid to Europe to keep out Communism, so South Africa might give aid to Southern Rhodesia to keep out African nationalism. When the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is dismantled, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are under full Black rule, South Africa will be down to its last three buffer states: Southern Rhodesia, directly to the north, and the flanking Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, in the west and east. These are the buffer states against Black Africa. No doubt they see themselves in a more exalted light, with a claim to survive in their own right, but let us look at it for the moment from Dr. Verwoerd's point of view. He knows that as long as these three territories remain under White rule, they will provide South Africa with a cordon of defense.

On the face of it, therefore, Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are natural allies. If any encouragement is needed, it has been provided by the summit conference of African leaders in the imperial capital of Addis Ababa: Ben Bella's offer of "10,000 experienced Algerian volunteers" to fight for the liberation of Angola; President Sekou Toure's suggestion for all African states to set aside one percent of their budgets "for the purpose of liberating non-free Africa"; President Julius Nyerere's affirmation that "we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa."

Some South African newspapers are already throwing up the battlements: "After five years of skirmishing," says the *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), "the signs are that the struggle between Africa's great Black and White power blocs is about to begin in real earnest. The destruction, first of Katanga and second of the Federation – which has been regarded by South Africa as a comforting buffer state – will bring the African war against White supremacy to the line of the Zambesi River." This report echoed the earlier plea by a Southern Rhodesian M.P., Mr. D. A. Sparrow, for his country to form a "power bloc" with South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, "to stem the tide of African nationalism." Otherwise, said Mr. Sparrow, Southern Rhodesia faced "economic chaos."

It is not as simple as all that, however, to form a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power bloc. Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa have a common plight, but different policies. On closer examination, the pact does not seem to be such a natural remedy after all. Portugal has indicated that it would suffer embarrassment if it were to be linked publicly with *apartheid* in South Africa. Practically the first statement made by Mr. Winston Field when he became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia last year (his right-wing Rhodesian Front Party ousted Sir Edgar Whitehead's integrationist United Federal Party) was to make it clear that it was "nonsense" to describe his party's race policy as *apartheid*. He said: "*Apartheid* is enforced by law. We will leave it to the people." And, as for Dr. Verwoerd, he too has pointed out that there are "great differences" between the policies pursued in Southern Rhodesia and those pursued in South Africa. Because of these differences, said Dr. Verwoerd it would be impossible for Southern Rhodesia ever to become an additional province of South Africa.

All three countries having made it clear that they beg to differ from each other in their approach to the race problem (the Portuguese practice the *assimilado* system under which approved Africans are transformed into full-blooded Portuguese), there remains now to be seen what practical form of cooperation is left to them.

A military pact seems to be out of the question, at least in the sense of mutual defense assistance. One could imagine what kind of detonation there would be in Africa if the first South African troops crossed the borders into Angola, Mozambique or Southern Rhodesia, to help the White rulers there to put down Black rebellions. There would practically be a war in Africa. Just as an International Brigade was raised to fight against Franco in Spain, so surely an African Brigade would be raised to fight against the colonialists in the south. Here would be work for Ben Bella's 10,000 men! The mere thought of armed conflict in Africa on such a scale would send shivers of horror up the spines of the Western nations.

Yet the rumor has persisted. In 1961, and again in 1962, African leaders in the Federation insisted that Sir Roy Welensky had concluded defense agreements with the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique. The allegation was denied, and it was pointed out that the Federation had no legal right to enter into defense agreements, because Britain still held certain reserve powers. Nevertheless, there was much coming and going between the various countries: Sir Roy went to Lisbon to see Salazar, South Africa's Defense Minister also went to see Salazar, Portuguese military officials visited South Africa, and then Sir Roy kept turning up in South Africa. At the end, one felt a little cross-eyed.

No doubt there is an exchange of military information between the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, or rather political information.

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 27 *August 10*
August 24 *September 7*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 14

There appears to be an agreement, too, to repatriate political refugees arriving in each other's territories. More than 40 Africans detained in the Federation recently were sent back to South Africa and are now serving long jail sentences. This is a police, rather than a military, matter though. The White group also keeps itself informed of the plans being hatched by the anti-colonialists in Africa.

Joint military exercises also afford an opportunity for cooperation: there have already been joint air exercises between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. South Africa, of course, is the most powerful military country of the three. It has a modern, well-equipped army and air force, and any African liberation army which tried to attack it at this stage would probably find that it had bitten off more than it could chew.

When all is said and done, then, it is in the field of economic aid – from South Africa to Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies – that cooperation is most feasible. This could take the form of financial loans, or a revision of customs tariffs, or the concluding of new trade arrangements. In Southern Rhodesia's case, it could also take the form of providing assistance for the construction of a new rail link to the coast through South Africa.

Dr. Verwoerd envisaged all these possibilities in a speech in the South African Parliament during April. He spoke of "organized economic interdependence according to the example of the European Common Market," or even of cooperation in a political sense "taking the Commonwealth as an example." Allowing for the fact that "common market" is a grandiose term to apply to Southern Africa, and that "Commonwealth" implies precisely the kind of political alliance which the three groups are trying to avoid, one must recognize that here lies the base of the so-called "White bloc" in Southern Africa.

It was against this background that Sir Roy Welensky arrived suddenly in Cape Town during May, a ruffled ex-prize fighter who feels that Britain has done him dirt by selling the Federation out from under him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sir Roy arrived to spend a "fishing holiday" with Dr. Verwoerd at the latter's seaside cottage.

The communique which the two men agreed to issue because of the "speculation" of the purpose of Sir Roy's visit was in fact not a communique at all, because it communicated nothing. It made two points. It said: "From the outset there was no intention to introduce or conduct any negotiations between our two countries." In a sense, this is painfully true, because Sir Roy's country will soon no longer exist, and Sir Roy will be out of a job.

The communique continued verbosely to make its second point: "Meeting as heads of government in neighboring states in such a friendly fashion, with a holiday atmosphere predominating, may, however, rightly be taken as symbolical of the great friendship which exists between our countries, and of our acknowledgment of the need to cooperate in all matters of common interest. In saying that, we do not seek to hide our differences of policy in certain matters, but are at one in not interfering in the domestic affairs of others. Our countries and government can, therefore, concentrate in the right spirit on what is of common concern and so be of mutual aid. It is in this spirit that views were exchanged on developments in the world at large, and more particularly in Africa. Furthermore, without seeking any specific agreement or undertakings, we discussed the economic relations between our two countries and possible methods of increasing cooperation in such matters to the benefit of both."

What all this means for poor Sir Roy, who arrived as the supplicant, with Dr. Verwoerd holding most of the cards, is anyone's guess. He put on his most cheerful expression, however, and told newspapermen, as he stepped into the special military aircraft which had brought him all the way down to the Cape, that he saw no need for Southern Africa to build itself into an "armed camp." Then he changed the subject to his fishing holiday. He looked rather pensive as he remarked that, although he had caught no fish while out with Dr. Verwoerd, he had had two bites.

STANLEY UYS

WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGN FOR A MIXED-CREW SURFACE FORCE

The Tory Bind

London

By sending Admiral Ricketts, his Vice Chief of Naval Operations, to discuss his proposal for a mixed-crew NATO nuclear force with the British Admiralty, President Kennedy is forcing Prime Minister Macmillan to make a most difficult decision. In the four months since the US first announced this proposal, not one voice of consequence has been raised in its favor in Britain, either inside or outside any of the political parties. Despite the yawning gulf which separates the government and opposition on the so-called independent British deterrent, they are united in believing that this particular American proposal for a mixed-crew surface force is likely to work against both the military and political objectives it is intended to achieve. Nor is this likely to change as a result of a personal visit by the President to London at the end of this month.

Besides diverting scarce resources from the prime task of strengthening NATO's conventional shield, the proposed surface force will be too vulnerable and inaccurate, the British believe, to serve its ostensible purpose of nuclear interdiction in case of major European war. In the political field, most British observers believe, far from reducing the incentives for the spread of nuclear weapons inside the Alliance, it will create an appetite in Germany for nuclear weapons where none now exists and also offer Bonn the opportunity of satisfying it. Defense Minister Von Hassel has already said that as Germany is to pay up to 40 percent of the cost of this force she will insist on abandoning the unanimity rule for its control so that she may have her own finger on the trigger.

Macmillan is particularly anxious to avoid any British commitment to this force since under the Nassau Agreement, if it ever came into operational existence, he would be obliged to put his Polaris submarines into it – and then goodbye to the "independent British deterrent." On the other hand the Nassau Agreement also obliges him to "use his best endeavors" to develop some sort of "multilateral NATO nuclear force." Kennedy might well hold that the Prime Minister had broken the agreement if he boycotted the current proposal, since America herself is unlikely to go ahead with it unless Britain joins; without Britain it would be for practical purposes an American-German force, and neither in Washington nor Bonn would there be much parliamentary support for it. Thus Prime Minister Mac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

millan holds a veto whether he likes it or not.

Since the breakdown in Brussels, US diplomacy in Europe has concentrated almost exclusively on a ruthless campaign in every NATO capital to win support for the mixed-crew surface force. Washington should be disturbed that these unprecedented high-pressure tactics have evoked so little positive support except in Bonn. But one has the feeling that for the small group of policy-makers who have committed their prestige to the mixed-crew force, it has become a matter of personal honor to force it through at any cost. The latest gambit appears to be a proposal that Britain should be able to join on a nominal subscription but with a major role in the controlling body of the force, and that Britain should also reap the economic advantages of providing all the nuclear warheads and the main base, and of building most of the craft in her own shipyards.

This type of bargaining reveals the major danger in the way Washington is handling the proposal. By making it all too apparent that it is prepared to alter any detail for the sake of a symbolic diplomatic success, Washington risks increasing all the existing strains in the alliance and ending up with an arrangement which satisfies none of the original objectives – just as the European Defense Community, originally designed to prevent Germany from having a national army, led finally to Germany's admission into NATO as a completely sovereign state.

The real tragedy is that much of this might have been avoided if America had one major European ally who shared the fundamental objectives she is rightly trying to pursue in NATO and whose sympathetic criticism might serve to correct the sometimes introverted enthusiasm of the Washington intellectuals. Britain should be filling this role. But Macmillan's electoral commitment to maintain an independent deterrent prevents him from making any constructive suggestion for enabling the United States to escape from its current dilemma.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

DENIS HEALEY *is the Labour Party's spokesman on Defense in Parliament.*

Popes and Communists

by Henry M. Pachter

After John XXIII, the Catholic Church most likely will turn again to a man of less advanced opinions, but the policies of John XXIII will not be reversed, for his consent to an "opening toward the Left" was far from personal. Years before his accession to the throne of St. Peter, the idea had been debated in the Vatican. (The conservative Cardinal-Secretary of State, Domenico Tardini, once amazed a NATO minister with the remark: "It would be a good thing to get rid of the Communists around here," circling the Holy Office with a sweep of his hand.) Pius XII, too, received in audience entire locals of the Communist Party and gave them his Apostolic blessing. He, too, issued appeals for peace and proclaimed that the Church must remain aloof from all political parties.

In all its strategies, the political interest of the Church has remained subject to its pastoral function. In its 1,800 years of history, the Church has been ally and enemy of every form of state: it has fought by the side of city republics against emperors and kings, it has helped monarchs crush rebellions, and it has sanctified tyrannicide; it has concluded concordats with usurpers like Napoleon and with monsters like Hitler. It has fought bitterly against the liberal state under which Catholic organizations were allowed to thrive, and it has repudiated or encouraged Catholic parties as it saw fit. It has survived all sorts of states and governments, because either in opposition or in cooperation it has kept its eye firmly on the one interest that mattered – its relationship with the faithful. There is no reason in the world – precisely because it is "this world" – why the Church should not coexist or indeed conclude a concordat with a Socialist or a Communist State, provided it thereby gains freedom to increase its pastoral activities. "He who has faith need not tremble; he does not rush the events nor need he pessimistically lose his nerves," said John XXIII.

A *modus vivendi* and an exchange of consular representatives, which would give the Church certain

HENRY M. PACHTER *is correspondent at the United Nations for the* Deutsche Zeitung *and is co-editor of* Dissent. *He also teaches at the New School for Social Research in New York City.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rights in the Soviet Empire, are not tantamount to a clean bill for the Communist State. Khrushchev's son-in-law correctly stated that the Pope would maintain such missions abroad, not as spiritual head of the Roman Catholics but as head of state. This covers both sides ideologically and juridically. But in fact, the Vatican is not interested in recognizing, or in being recognized by, the Soviet Government. It is interested in regularizing its relations with those Communist governments that rule over millions of Catholics – above all the European satellites. Poland's Archbishop Wyszynski was the first to elaborate a policy of coexistence with the Communist State and now wields great influence in the Vatican; at the other end of the scale, Hungary's martyr-Cardinal Mindszenty is continuing the old policy of irreconcilable resistance. But the Church also must think of the Christians in East Asia who have fallen or may fall under Communist domination, and it certainly is thinking of Cuba and other Latin American countries whose dictatorships can no longer guarantee the spiritual empire of the Church.

Khrushchev and the Pope

John XXIII did not hesitate to give his *agrément* when Castro sent a new ambassador to represent Cuba at the Vatican. Considerations of long-term strategy, possibly the survival of the Church in all these countries demand the abandonment of its long-time alignment with *latifundistas* and police regimes. Nor was the Church free to refuse the hand which the Soviet Government extended at a time of its own choosing. The visit of Mr. Adzhubei was not less embarrassing to the Cardinals – who denied that Adzhubei was with the Pope even while he was being received – than the appearance of Henry IV before Gregory VII at Canossa nearly 900 years ago.

It was Khrushchev himself who took the initiative to establish relations. As early as 1960 he had begun treating the Vatican as a sovereign power, reversing the attitude which had caused Stalin to jeer, "How many divisions does the Pope have?" Khrushchev asked his Ambassador in Rome to transmit a copy of the Soviet Disarmament Proposal to His Holiness at the same time he himself delivered it to the UN General Assembly. John XXIII responded to the gesture by eliminating from his diplomatic reception list the shadow ambassadors of the Baltic States, thus recognizing Stalin's conquests. Thereafter, Khrushchev sent best wishes to Pope John on his 80th birthday.

Meanwhile President Gronchi had been in Moscow, and Khrushchev had promised to return the visit. Promoters of a concordat now used protocol to force the issue: it would be impossible for Khrushchev to be in Rome and not to visit the head of the sovereign Vatican State. The Curia countered with a classical example of 19th Century diplomatic technique: The *Liechtensteiner Volksblatt* (serving a population of 16,500) published an article which was duly picked up by the semi-official Catholic News Agency in Bonn. It said that fundamental hostility still prevailed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Soviet regime, but that the Vatican would conclude a concordat even with Khrushchev if freedom of worship could thereby be furthered. However, it continued, the present overtures from the Kremlin might be deceptive, and it hinted that as a token of its earnestness the Kremlin might dampen the anti-Catholic campaign of its press. (The Russians probably felt that they were acceding to this demand by distinguishing between the noble intentions of the Pope and the "Vatican circles which still are operating as an advance guard of the imperialists.")

When the question of a delegation to the Vatican Council came to be debated, the Russian patriarch made it a condition of his participation that he would not have to listen to speeches criticizing his country. What went on during these difficult negotiations is buried in the breast of Dr. Willebrands, the Council's special secretary on unity, but the result was visible to all who attended the Council in Rome in October, 1962. There were two representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church as observers, but no representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who is not only the rival of the Moscow Metropolitan but the enemy and critic of the entire Russian tradition of a Church subservient to the State. Since the Moscow priests could not have traveled without the consent and wish of the Soviet Government, and since the Russian Church up to recently had taken a rather dim view of Rome and its efforts toward Church unity, it is difficult to assume that the Russian Orthodox dignitaries were acting on their own. The Curia in Rome must have chosen between Moscow and Constantinople.

It made a still more important concession to the Russians when the Ukrainian bishops in exile spoke up at the Council for their Church at home. Under pressure from the Vatican their protest was not registered as a Council document, and apologies were extended to the Russian delegates. In return the Russian delegates were asked to obtain the release of a great martyr of the Ukrainian Church, 70-year-old Archbishop Slipyi of Lemberg, who has been languishing in a concentration camp since 1948. The request was granted almost immediately; Slipyi was shipped to Rome in the beginning of 1963.

A similar solution seems to have been planned for Cardinal Mindszenty, but this staunch anti-Bolshevist has refused to cooperate. Negotiations for mutual recognition with the Hungarian puppet government, which started immediately after the Cuban crisis in Novem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber, 1962, led to accreditation of the Hungarian delegation at the United Nations and the quashing of the UN investigation of Kadar's further conduct. They are supposed to lead to an exchange of Ambassadors between Hungary and the United States, to the release of political prisoners in Hungary and to restoration of normal relations between the Vatican and Hungary. The Kadar Government, however, is holding a club over the Vatican; it will not consent to the installation of any new bishops until Cardinal Mindszenty has been retired from office. Mindszenty, however, apparently thinks that no bishops are better than the kind which the Kadar Government would approve.

Here we come back to the distinction made in the beginning: the problem of Investiture which caused Rome's quarrel with the medieval emperors no longer exists if the Church considers its pastoral duties paramount, if it renounces politics. The Church is negotiating about unity with the Russian patriarch, though he is a functionary of the Soviet Government, because it trusts that the gain in pastoral freedom will outlast the loss in political power. Likewise, it does not mind Kadar's cooperation in nominating Hungarian bishops, because it trusts that Kadar does not understand what really matters to the Church.

The success or failure of the policy John XXIII inaugurated will depend on the truth or error of his basic assumption – that there is no true faith outside the Roman Church or the Christian religion. If this assumption is correct, then the Church may coexist and compromise with Communism and still serve itself well. If, on the contrary, Communism is a faith and the Communist Party is an organized religion, then it may be dangerous for the Church to extend recognition to the Communist power structure, for the Church might as well admit that one may be saved by heresy. In the cold war between two power blocs, Catholicism may be neutral; in a spiritual contest it must be partisan. Pius XII felt that the Church must provide the ideology for the "good" camp; John XXIII earned for himself the epithet "Red Pope" (in some quarters, at least) because he remained indifferent to the advantage which the secular enemies of the Church might draw from his disposition to accommodate them.

Who's Blocking Desegregation?

by Robert Coles

A Louisiana jailor, curious about my psychiatric interview with one of his prisoners – a 20-year-old Negro lad charged by that state with the criminal anarchy of encouraging his kind to vote – remarked to me in taunting complacency: "We're just sitting here and waiting. Y'all could stop a lot of segregation if y'all wanted, but I don't think y'all really mean it. . . . Why should we move if we can sit tight and call your bluff?" His challenge may be deserved.

Since I have been studying how Southerners, white and Negro, young and old, manage as individuals under the stresses of desegregation, in schools, at polls or restaurants, I can offer no statistics on public attitudes, no new mass appraisal. Yet, I have spent a good deal of time with many segregationists, trying to understand the emotional origins of their beliefs, and I think we do them and ourselves an injustice by not looking more closely at their behavior.

For two years, I worked as a psychiatrist at a large Air Force base in Biloxi, Mississippi. Helping me were corpsmen from Mississippi and Alabama, Negro and white, eating together, sleeping in the same barracks, sitting beside one another in the base theater. When they left federal property, they were fierce in defense of town habits; but when they returned, they yielded to national ones most casually.

We largely know such facts, still we ignore them. Speaking words of apparent concern for the Southerner, we insist that his traditions surrender only very slowly to time. We tell ourselves of the psychological problems at issue, mindful that if we force distasteful feedings of civil rights legislation down an unwilling region's gullet, reflexic refusal (nerves, again) will be the result. Such concern may be as convenient for us as it is patronizing and deeply unfair to the Southerner. Particularly so when many Southern segregationists, angered by the Supreme Court's rejection of segregated schools, were never-

ROBERT COLES *M.D. is a child psychologist who lives in Vinings, Georgia. He has written for journals of medicine and psychiatry and for* The Atlantic Monthly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theless surprised at the gentleness of the law's enforcement, or, better, non-enforcement. ("We expected it to come right off, and then we realized we were going to be able to dodge it a long time," a Mississippi lawyer recalled to me.) Particularly so when many Southerners feel they are seen and measured by their worst elements. (Northerners forget that the majority of the South is composed of voteless Negroes and silently well-intentioned whites, not to mention a large number of fearlessly outspoken supporters of respect for federal laws or equal civil rights for the Negro. The noisy racists not only exercise minority rule, but are often respected outside the South as its only voice. Whom the North hears and heeds may be *its* measure.)

A Hell of Dusky Skin

Historians (psychiatrists are, among other things, historians, collecting information about the past and trying to make some sense of it) may explain our guilty, our tender view of the fragile if strongly hate-saddled Southerner. From the early slave trade to the Reconstruction Era, the North has had a heavy hand in the very evil it has denounced. Even the liberalism of both Roosevelts and Wilson in this century touched Negroes as part of our poor, rather than as a devastatingly bound and exploited race. Only very recently has his special exile become the target of legal scrutiny, and it is now that we hear from many this cautious regard for the limits of human adaptation under social change. Indeed, we have reached a new refinement in our life: the hard power of Northern commerce, the riches of white cotton picked by black hands, the moral outrage of abolitionists or the subtle political separatism of generations of agile Southern lawyers and politicians, these all give way to the modern question of human emotions and their frail confines.

Not that I for a moment question the mind's capacity for self-deception, a Southerner's, a Northerner's too. Examples accumulate fast in my work. Even the kindliest teachers in Atlanta or New Orleans, highly favorable, some of them, to integration, believe that their Negro students have been selected and rewarded by the NAACP. Not only have they not been so chosen and paid, but the truth of this organization in the South, its fragmented, hunted, impoverished condition, is an ironic, a tragic example of fears being realized as facts.

We may wonder why intelligent, cultivated people will not, or cannot – have it either way – comprehend the Negro's anger or his more abased and apathetic surrender to his forced destiny. We see from many wise people little concern for the psychological effects of wasted, wanton living in what is for so many a very hell of dusky skin, sometimes painfully caricatured in a guarded black middle-class which represents a travesty of accomplishment in its educated but disenfranchised state. That all this could escape at least the acknowledged notice of so many people, reminds me of some patients stricken with polio whom I saw in my medical training. In iron lungs, facing profound illness and likely death, they blandly denied the presence of one or a chance of the other. "I'm fine," or "I'll be up and around in a day or two," we'd hear. What soldier charging a machine-gun nest easily contemplates the likelihood of his death? Yet, doctors and generals must see painful truths even when others don't, and in a democracy we assume every man's vision a king's.

The South, 10-odd states among 50, about 20 Senators among 100, has no corner on tricky mental mechanisms. Above the Mason-Dixon line and beyond the Mississippi, people quickly seize upon the riots and mobs, the fearful violence and the shrill voices. We cannot escape the picture of lonely Negro children walking to school, or students arrested trying to vote or be served in a restaurant. Jolted by these incidents, we conclude that there is a chilling hate in those white hecklers, and a terrible strain and horror for those Negroes, and, after a while, these become the two situations most familiar and most associated with the South.

Yet, when we announce our civilized shock at the indecencies hurled at a little Negro girl in New Orleans, or an older Negro man in Oxford, when we wonder at their survival under such abuse, we forget the long truth of their lives. I have studied these children and seen remarkably little psychiatric illness among them, despite their trials. Facing a jeering mob for a purpose might seem relatively easy and more sensible to a Negro who has arbitrarily been kept from theaters or sections of a bus, whose parents cannot vote. They are millions in number, these hurts, and they occur daily, most often unnoticed. Instead, kindled perhaps by some particular disaster, our collective knowledge of injustice makes some of us vigorous advocates of change, while others, decrying violence, worry strangely about altering its breeding grounds. Interesting are the discriminations of our sympathy and revealing are those we choose to "understand."

The segregationist, like the Negro who knows his white man so well, understands his Northerner, his American outside the South. He senses their indifference, their ambivalence, their fears and dislikes, similar to his. Waiting, watching closely, taking his neighbor's pulse, he smiles at Northern segregation, denounced but practiced, laughs as Northerners lament Southern Congressional power but either quietly ally themselves with it or refrain from legislation which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would really test its power. Urgency is reserved for liberating the Teamsters or the Katangese, both of whom seem less curbed than Negroes of the South.

The Southern politician, were he certain of no alternative, would survive desegregation. He is a stout, plucky fellow who has recently shown in some parts of the South small embarrassment at his new espousal of "law and order," even integration under the banner of "too busy (with new business) to hate." He, and his voters, will change their customs, as people always do, for compelling reasons: legal ones, such as those which obtain on the military bases which dapple the region, social and economic ones, like less poverty and ignorance, the lure of a better life, the sure knowledge of a worse one without change.

Clearly, then this stalwart but not crazed Southern segregationist, be he citizen or office holder, needs several things before he is moved to modify an historic relationship with the Negro. He needs to be told that he must. He also needs to lose his need for the Negro, who was once the specific need of a rich cotton economy, later the wayward need of a poor, rural one for menial work and a target upon which to vent its frustrated sense of inadequacy.

If any region in America needs planned infusions of capital, it is the South. It craves more and better schools and colleges, help as its people move from faltering, insolvent farms to cities, assistance for its sharecroppers, migrant workers, hillbillies. It requires better medical facilities, more decent housing and less shacks. It needs good jobs for its people, at good wages, not flimsy wages from the sediment of American capitalism in flight from its own marginal existence. Finally, with such better livelihood, it needs, and is beginning to achieve, a political maturity wherein citizens are fed enough, read enough, to want to vote intelligently rather than be whipped seductively into a babbling, stupefying frenzy.

Some changes are obviously coming, from the Supreme Court with its 1954 school decision and 1962 reapportionment decision, from first-class private capital as it moves into the Carolinas and Atlanta. Congress has budged the tiniest bit on voting rights for millions of Americans, and the Kennedys are sometimes both firm and inventive in their pressures upon Southern Governors or sheriffs. Meanwhile, much of the Deep South is controlled by the votes of not quite penniless rural folk, insecure small town people, or unorganized, underpaid workers. Consumed by race hatred which dissolves, like cheap booze, hunger pangs and worries about mounting bills, they are corralled yearly to elect in fear politicians who respect not their wants but the desires of the few utilities, the banks and railroads which dominate the area like no other part of America. These elected leaders, make no mistake about it, are not wild Klan types, are not like the New Orleans excommunicatees I have seen. Less open, now ironically holding hands with the heirs of Lincoln's party, they tell America that segregation is a psychological problem, one of emotions, long and deeply held, hard to approach, difficult to handle and change. Slowly, very slowly, we must go, as if through a mined field, as if hunting a deer, like political bird watchers. Whether they believe their own words or not, many pay them much attention. Why, when we know that racial hatred is not inherited? Why, when we know that, given reasons to change, motivation to change, human beings are enormously adaptive? Why, when any Southern school teacher can tell about the changes which occur in themselves, in their children, under daily contact with Negro children?

There may be several answers. Some posture hypocritically for civil rights, but favor nationally the kinds of political and economic oligarchies which many of these Southern spokesmen represent. Others, simply pragmatic in all matters, respect the bargaining power

Faulkner on Segregation

In a letter written in 1956 and published for the first time last week by the campus newspaper of the University of Alabama, William Faulkner advised a Southern student that, "Segregation is going, whether we like it or not. We no longer have any choice between segregation or unsegregation. The only choice we have is, how, by what means. . . ."

"I vote that we ourselves choose to abolish it, if for no other reason than, by voluntarily giving the Negro the chance for whatever equality he is capable of, we will stay on top; he will owe us gratitude; where, if his equality is forced on us by law, compulsion from the outside, he will be on top from being the victor, and winner against opposition. . . . That is the simple expediency of this matter, apart from the morality of it. Apart from the world situation in which we are steadily losing ground against the powers which decree that individual freedom must perish. . . . It is a sad commentary of human nature that it is much easier, simpler, much more fun and excitement, to be against something you can see, like a black skin, than to be for something you can only believe in as a principle, like justice and fairness and (in the long view) the continuation of individual freedom and liberty.

"And remember this, too, when you have to meet these individual problems; you will be dealing with cowards. Most segregationists are afraid of something, possibly Negroes; I don't know. But they seem to function only as mobs, and mobs are always afraid of something, of something they doubt their ability to cope with singly and in daylight."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the region in a nation of competing interests. Then, there is always international *realpolitik*, and its regard for the external threat which demands at least a semblance of internal cohesion, underneath which remain festering hate, cropping up in race riots, and a waste of human resources in the illiterate lives of slum children and farm hands.

Whatever their motives, the Southern segregationists know they have allies all over the country, hidden advocates, or guilty, if practical-minded, partisans. The jailor was right, it is not a beleagured minority against an insistent majority, but a canny, artful one against a deeply divided and uncertain one. Recently I watched my Junior Senator, Mr. Talmadge of Georgia, gently tease his fellows on the Senate floor by reminding them that no legislation genuinely wanted by about 70 Senators could be prevented yearly and forever by the South's handful. He seemed confident, and there were, anyway, present to hear him one Republican and two other Southern Senators.

Incidentally, Senator Talmadge recently entertained a newly-elected Negro state Senator in his rural Georgia home. Anyone who knows the segregationist heritage of the Talmadges can only marvel at such capacity for change of attitude (or do we have here simply a deep-rooted psychological need to survive?). If a Southern "segregationist" Senator can come along so far, perhaps many Northerners will oblige with noticing it and drawing the appropriate conclusions: the South is no more like it was in 1860 or even 1945 than the rest of our country; and if the North acts as though it were, perhaps it does so for its own selfish reasons.

The Time Is Now

Segregationists from Dixie, desirous of keeping their society as it is, fighting for its crust because for them it is cake, have the protection of others elsewhere in America, but only in exchange for one interesting burden. When the harvest of segregation becomes embarrassing, when the shame of riots becomes brimful and the scandal in the world's richest democracy of its entwined poverty and violence emerges beyond disguise, he, the Southern race-baiter, stands prepared for our collective need. Upon him fall our faults and compromises, evasions and duplicities. Glaring at him we dismiss the herded, inert masses of our Northern Negro slums, or the cynical sectional barters which ignore human rights, or our many niggardly responses to needy fellow citizens, hungry, persecuted, or merely in pursuit of a nearby home or school. Off this strange scapegoat goes, comfortably away from all of us.

I write this having just returned from some unsettling days in Alabama and North Carolina, the worst of which were prison visits with the white and Negro youths who tried to follow William Moore's steps into Alabama, and the best of which were talks with those "children" who aroused so much alarm nationally by their participation in demonstrations.

The more I see and hear, the more I think much of these convulsions can only respond to a fundamental assault upon the ambiguity of our laws, the ambiguity of our stated goals and intentions as expressed in our Congress. The time is now, because even white segregationists in the South are frightened. As a matter of fact segregationists in Birmingham talk like they never have before, because the reality of the Negro's determination, the truth of his feelings, has been made known to them, as well as the certainty that forceful resistance is not only futile and costly, but perhaps even a help to the Negro (rallying him and the country into even greater impatience and alarm).

Recently I heard a conservative lawyer talk to the Birmingham Council on Human Relations, a group of Negroes and whites who for years have met in a Negro church, harassed by police and ignored by everyone but themselves. The lawyer told me he had formerly supported "Bull" Connor and Governor Wallace. Yet there he was, to present his views – that change was necessary, but that it must be gradual.

These demonstrations are testing not the segregationist power of Alabama but the very strength and value of our political institutions. What is the worth of the President's domestic program if it is enacted for a divided, increasingly unstable country? The genie of rampant nuclear testing may not be the only one out of the bottle these days, for we are finally confronted with the Negro's feelings and demands, long unheeded, overlooked, or rationalized away. When a historical moment allows such emotions expression in a society it can either try to repress them, ignore them and endanger their expression in chaotic forms, or attempt to give their vitality structure and real meaning.

What we must do, if we are to survive as a political and social democracy, is settle this problem of minority rights formally and fully, by changing our laws to guarantee them unequivocally. The very nature of our government limits even the best of our courts, the most effective of our Presidents. The real issue is not their ingenuity or timing, is not even the racial problem in itself, but the life and death of our legislative system, its ability to hear and see voices and faces hitherto largely ignored, its ability, so to speak, to rule over all of its body. Standing in its way, we hear, are a few segregationist Senators and their peculiar powers. Well, let us see right now if they are all that blocks the possibility of effective action, because the emotions I see about me in the South, and they are hardly confined here, will not shrink from the committee doors of the Senate, and I suspect, from many others, too.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A. A. Berle—New Myths for Old

by Philip Green

Without serious consideration of the work of A. A. Berle, any investigation of American political economy would be incomplete. In his latest work, *The American Economic Republic,* Berle does not add anything substantial to the viewpoint for which he has become deservedly famous, but rather correlates his several concerns in popularized form. One might sum up his con-

The American Economic Republic
by Adolph A. Berle
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $4.50)

tribution (part of which, of course, is also attributable to Gardiner C. Means) as follows: The owners of industry no longer control its operations, but rather those operations are in the hands of a group of managers who make bureaucratic rather than risk-taking decisions; corporate property is thus not "private" in any real sense. This fact, together with the concomitant centralization of corporate wealth and power (the "greatest in the history of the world"), and the ability of the modern corporation to generate its own growth capital without risk suggests that the ideas of "capitalism," "private" or "free" enterprise, "private property," etc. – the whole philosophical baggage of 19th Century economic liberalism – have no real meaning. Furthermore, planning is the essence of corporate enterprise; the question is not whether there will be planning, but where it will be done. Against the centralized corporate bureaucracies, which are not constrained by any "invisible hand" or other force which would supposedly socialize their production for profit, the force of large government must therefore counterpose itself, to oversee the workings of the system, coordinate private corporate planning, set up some priority guidelines for production for public use, and correct excessive maldistribution of product. The result is the corporate welfare state, in which the public law of democracy must be joined by a growing "public" law of the corporation. Corporate wealth and power, which *seem* uncontrollable on superficial inspection, will in reality be controlled by government, the "public consensus," and the critical philosophizing of the "Lords Spiritual" (churchmen, professors, etc.). To this theory Berle has appended in his latest work a brief description of the institutional arrangements of, and a statistical analysis of economic behavioral patterns in the corporate welfare state. He has also added a notion of the "transcendental margin," an obscure phrase by which he seems to mean the existence of a social ethic in economic activity, which leads both to socially productive investment and to philanthropy, the net result of both these built-in biases being that the system functions better and more justly than mere economic theory might lead one to expect. All in all, though, there is nothing new in this book; it is as though Berle had finally written a textbook on Berle. It seems fitting, therefore, to take this opportunity to make an assessment of Berle's contribution.

As a student, I read Berle, was tremendously impressed – and drew exactly the opposite conclusions from those he wanted me to draw. (I imagine this is a fate that often overtakes seminal thinkers). The idea of liberal pluralism in the context of corporate capitalism is a wistful hope; the centralized realm of corporate power is in many ways uncontrolled, and threatens to overwhelm democratic political institutions; new forms of democratic social control are therefore urgently needed – these are some of the generalizations that a hard reading of Berle seemed necessarily to engender. And I think that this is Berle's value, irrespective of whether one draws similar conclusions or not: that by stripping away the sham from the supposedly combined ideas of "capitalism" and "individualism" in American social philosophy, he forces one to assess economic society as a universe which is going to be characterized by planning, corporatism, "collectivism," large-scale organization, centralization, etc.; thus one, if blind before, will see society with better eyes.

I must say, however, that Berle does not seem to be one of those who has benefited very much from the reading which I assume he has done from time to time in the works of A. A. Berle. The Berle who raised so many nagging questions for the rest of us raises no nagging questions for Berle. What he has gleaned from his life's work so far is this:

> "The United States has worked out an organization and framework of economics, commerce and business peculiar to itself. Its system differs widely from the descriptions usually given. I have ventured to call it 'The American Economic Republic.'
>
> "This organization is not built around a doctrine. It is not 'capitalist', 'socialist', or 'Communist'. It is built around a process – the process we call 'democracy'. Specifically it has integrated the democratic process by which we operate our politics with visible or indirect controls of the private decisions by which we work our economics. These last run all the way from decisions made by a woman buying groceries at a supermarket to those governing great plants like General Motors in manufacturing and selling automobiles. . . .
>
> "The 19th-Century system continually left great numbers of people in distress. . . . Accordingly a compulsory system of gathering wealth for them had to be worked out. Others were victims of circumstance or misfortune. They had to be provided for. Measures were taken;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these in aggregate make up the 'Welfare State'. . . .

"Compared with the system of any other great nation, the American economic republic is the most successful in the modern world. It has done more for all of its population than any other, without ignoring or glossing over its deficiencies, its omissions, and its problems. . . .

"The American political-economic system, judged by its total achievement, is the most successful in the present-day world. By the same standard of judgment, it is more successful than any in recorded history. . . . Its outstanding success has been, first, a level of production to a point at which only a fraction of the American people have any fear of catastrophic want. Most . . . have no acquaintance with poverty, in the sense that poverty exists over great areas of the earth."

Surely this kind of America-mongering, with its clarion note of national self-congratulation, has virtually become the preserve of the mindless in our society. Is the American economy *really*, without question, "the most successful in the modern world"? How? In terms of its economic growth record from an initial resource and labor base? Nonsense; its record pales before that of several nations (*e.g.*, Sweden, Japan, and perhaps someday, when the returns are all in, the USSR), which began not with a political *tabula rasa*, and from a state of resource-abundance coupled with an ideally constituted labor supply, but with limited resources and a feudal environment that had to be overcome or even smashed.

Has our system really "done the most for its population"? How is that to be measured precisely? Not, I should think, as a function of government or public action. Even if one takes into account the "transcendental margin" of philanthropy, the so-called Welfare State of the United States is one of the most backward and unsuccessful in the Western world – and someday soon the proper adjective may be supererogatory. (It is interesting that Berle has not even cared, apparently, to investigate the copious literature on who actually pays for the Welfare State, as opposed to who we think pays for it. The Berle who once looked so hard at the realities of corporation ownership accepts the myth of the "graduated income tax" without even the level of sophistication that one can find in *New York Times* editorials.) Nor, I would hope, as a function of that mythical entity, Standard of Living? The question, after all, is *whose* standard of living? If by "catastrophic want" one means mass, or starvation poverty, then we have virtually eliminated it – but then what is "most successful" about the United States? By any other definition, our society is in an abysmal state – not just by comparison with an "ideal" state (Berle thinks such comparisons are not very interesting) but by comparison with the reality representd by other bearers of "Western Civilization," present and past. In fact, the United States is one of the few "advanced" societies where millions – *millions* – of citizens live in a state of all-encompassing hopeless economic insecurity; it is also a society where great maldistribution in equality of life chances is accompanied by an appallingly small amount of energy devoted to correcting that condition. Thus when Berle, speaking purely with regard to the standard of living question, writes that "the Soviet workman and peasant still live under conditions Americans would consider unacceptable for a civilized people," one is left with a strangely bad taste. *Unacceptable*? Are the shacks of the South and the slums of Harlem, for instance, *acceptable*? Is a steadily growing number of unemployed, about which nobody does anything, *acceptable*?

Who is civilized, anyway? The question is not intended ironically. That we have moved far from 19th-Century capitalism – no doubt. But that we have moved to an "integrated" democracy of political and economic choice – such an idea seems but a dream. I am afraid that A. A. Berle has gradually gone from the destruction of old myths to the creation of new ones. He is still attacking the free enterprise, private property myth, which is important for what I should think is a diminishing number of people (though Berle, perhaps because of President Kennedy's difficulties, asserts that he is writing in a "desperate" mood). But the purpose of his myth-breaking now seems to be to lull us to sleep with the fairy-tale of the welfare state and the affluent society, whose "deficiencies, omissions, and problems" are steadily being solved by application of the "transcendental margin" and American know-how; there is really nothing left to worry about seriously.

The uses to which Berle has put his own work demonstrate that there *is* something to worry about: that it is time Americans began to look seriously at the naïve and degrading utilitarianism with which we tend to measure the "success" of our "system." For in Berle's writing one finds no reference to any serious considerations of American history and society which might help us to judge the quality and nature of that society. Instead, only the dry bones of the National Bureau of Economic Research exist for him. Despite his disclaimers, the cost-accounting spirit of capitalism lives on in this worship of statistical "facts" which obscure the truth as much as they reveal it, and tell less than nothing about the way we are living here and now.

Perhaps what Berle means to say (it is not at all clear in his writing) is that the kinds of defects of the "Republic" to which I have adverted, are redeemed, even if uncorrected, by the strictly political benefits which the American system uniquely offers; certainly the average American would not trade his life for Soviet man's if the USSR outproduced the US tenfold (although, one wonders. . .). But if this is so, it must then be said that one cannot find in Berle – and this has always been true – any thoughtful consideration of the virtues of American political organization relative to that of other nations, or indeed any consideration of the meaning and possible contributions of political systems generally. Like a high-school civics text, Berle constantly apostrophizes "freedom," but makes no effort to tell us what it is, what it means, why it is important, or how we are to know when we have it, except in purely formal terms: it is astounding that such a paucity of thought can go with such a surfeit of satisfaction. Take, for example, the concept of "consumer democracy," which Berle uses to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give political weight to the making of "free" economic choices. How can anyone really claim, without laughing, that a housewife and General Motors are engaged in the same kind of decision-making process? Even the *Congressional Record* suffices to demolish that pipedream.

Again, Berle simply dismisses C. Wright Mills by noting that businessmen in government are forced to sever their former business connections – an idea which in its marvelous innocence must represent a posthumous triumph of some kind for Mills. About the concept of the "power elite" Berle has nothing more to say in defining the "economic republic." He seems completely unaware of the growing literature about interpenetration not only of business and government elites, but of business and governmental decision-making generally. He continues his refusal to confront the question of how the "lords spiritual" that he has summoned up from the deep, and the public consensus (ditto, I think) can really control what he cheerfully avers is the greatest concentration of economic power ever seen on earth. It is also remarkable that Berle, in admitting and even embracing the notion of an "elite" while denying that it is of any great importance – since businessmen do not "carry their pasts" with them into government – appears never to have heard of the notion of ideology. In fact, neither that word nor any word suggesting a similar concept appears anywhere in *The American Economic Republic,* that I can recall. It is as though somehow American social classes did not *have* ideologies; one gets the distinct impression that Berle feels the concept is Marxist, not properly American.

In sum, the political question – who governs?; the ideological question – by what symbols and myths?; the ethical question – who benefits?; and the religious question – what is the quality of life? – all of these seem beyond Berle's ken; he is finally uninterested in them. Production statistics, GNP, median income, investment, consumption – what an empty way to define a society.

Berle, it seems, has already fought *his* intellectual revolution; it began with the New Deal, and has come to a dead stop there. Either he is not aware, or does not greatly care that with the exception of the war "boom," that revolution bogged down hopelessly in 1937 (what major social innovation other than the real estate operator's own Housing Act, has been made since then?). I suppose it is too much to ask a man to fight more than one intellectual revolution in his lifetime. I suppose also that someone may yet invent a scale really measuring economic and political well-being, on which the United States would not only come out ahead, but satisfy all of us. But meanwhile there is so much to be done in "civilizing" American society that one can scarcely know where to begin. No doubt we can hardly demand that everybody be a Cassandra; but we will never begin as long as there exists the attitude of complacent self-satisfaction that A. A. Berle has so unhappily come to incarnate.

Britain after World Power—II

From Empire to the Rejection of Empire

by Oscar Gass

From the reign of one Queen Elizabeth to the other, Britain was an oceanic world power. Today she is not. British cultural influence may be (and surely deserves to be) undiminished. But Britain is now only of secondary weight in the world's economy. And, in the structure of world power, she is now approaching the limited role of an important island off the western coast of Europe. This dissolution of British power is not, in my view, an occasion for unalloyed satisfaction. The world of the 1960's would, I think, have been a better and safer place if British political and social genius had been adequate to creating such community with many of her former dependencies that they would have availed themselves more largely of British leadership. (That British individuals would then have lived quieter or happier lives may, of course, be doubted.) But British government is not welcome, and British people do not wish to stay. Home then to England – or Scotland, or Wales, or Northern Ireland, as the case may be.

British Foreign Policy, 1945-1961
by F. S. Northedge
(Frederick A. Praeger; $6.50)

Dismantling has been fairly continuous since 1945, though Attlee gave it an initial impetus which Churchill might have resisted. Substantial imperial power is now quite gone (despite Hongkong and Singapore) from East Asia and from the Americas. Britain was dislodged from the role of a "protecting power" in the Middle East by conflict with the nationalisms of the region; she was quite unable to sell them the implausible doctrine that her ambitions were their interests. Even in Europe, Britain does not now maintain military forces that could be a significant independent factor in a conflict with a major power. Long cherished affiliations with a self-governing Commonwealth are, where best, static. A much-prized special relationship with the United States is of limited efficacy. In 1951, Australia and New Zealand, the faithful dominions, entered into defense arrangements with the United States – without so much as mentioning Britain. In 1956, Britain proved unable to enforce her will even in a conflict with Egypt. In July 1961, a troubled and reluctant British government – still looking back over its shoulders, now to the Commonwealth and now to the United States – communicated to Parliament its decision to seek admission to the Western European federal arrangements of the Treaty of Rome. In January 1963, President de Gaulle – deeply offended by the backward glances – rejected British entry. How the mighty had fallen!

Of these developments, Mr. Northedge has written an admirably lucid and informative history. His is also – and distinctively so among the literature on such subjects – a book remarkably little burdened by parochial blinders. Some limitations there are. He does not, I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

think, have the same sureness of touch when he deals with the Middle East or the Far East as when he writes of Europe. He has also, I believe, made a few mistakes. (Russian military mobilization and military deaths in World War II are greatly understated, on page 22. American military plans for World War II are wrongly portrayed – as concentrated on the Pacific, on pages 191ff. The United States official attitude toward Communist China is decisively oversimplified, on pages 193ff, by failure to distinguish the period before and after hostilities in Korea. Britain's ". . . historic role as guardian over the Arab states as a whole," page 131, is moonshine, and it is wrong to blame T. E. Lawrence for such fantasies, as is done on page 106.) Moreover, Mr. Northedge did not intend a work of research, uncovering new facts; specialists will accordingly find here no factual novelties. His bibliography also may be regarded as reasonable only if it is conceded that no person can be expected to read any language other than English. But, granted these minor imperfections and chosen limits, this is a book that deserves many readers. It is always clear and sometimes achieves great charm of imagery. It is no pile of sawdust but an essay thought through from beginning to end.

Best, in my judgment, is Northedge's treatment of the theme "Britain and European Unity" (especially his Chapter V). "Let it once be suggested that Western Europe might unite and form one body, with one centre of decision, and Britain was quick to withdraw." How little difference there was, in this matter, among Bevin, Churchill and Eden, when *in* office! Out of office, Churchill was a great European. Out of office, Labour believed in the unity of all mankind. But when it came actually to joining – whether the issue was a strong Council of Europe, or the European Defense Community, or the Coal and Steel Community – Labourites and Conservatives were equally negative. In the decade 1945-55, the dominant British attitude was consistently: Do we really need to step *down* to that? Northedge puts the thought beautifully:

> "It was hard to believe that Britain's situation was so desperate that it was best for her to commit suicide in order to be born again in a European federation. It was almost as hard to believe that the Europeans, after all their talk and paper constitutions, really had the political ability. . . . How could Europe hope to succeed if its uncle across the Channel, who was always ready to help when things got out of hand, gave up his freedom and married into a bankrupt family which could never keep out of debt?"

Only toward 1960 did British opinion begin to absorb the fact that, since 1950, every other country in western Europe (except Ireland) had advanced faster economically than the United Kingdom – and many twice as fast. Then there began to be some thought that joining Europe might mean stepping *up* to a more active life.

Northedge reports, perceptively: "The picture which . . . Americans tended to form of Britain . . . was of an ageing, self-satisfied prima donna who insisted on holding the limelight though the glory and beauty of her youth were long passed, while her friends were forming successful business partnerships after their retirement from the political theater." But Northedge himself displays little appetite for these business partnerships. It is with sadness that he concludes the record of the historic decision, in July 1961, to apply for admission to the European Economic Community and its related institutions. "Britain would return to Europe, of which she had geographically once formed a part and from which, in the past at least, had come much sorrow and little joy." Never a bridegroom went more sadly to the wedding.

British sponsorship of diplomacy by Summit meeting reflects, in part, the search for a happier alternative to integration with Europe. Churchill set the precedent. On May 11, 1953, he spoke out in Parliament to reject British membership in the European Defense Community: ". . . we are with them but not of them." At the same time, he surprised everybody – including apparently his own Foreign Office – by advocating a Summit meeting with Malenkov. Russian suppression of the East German rising of June 1953 made Churchill's initiative untimely. But Eden and Macmillan continued the same tactic. If only "a settlement" with the Soviet Union could be achieved, once and for all, it would be possible for Britain to turn her back decisively on these messy

Elegy for an Herbalist

Languid ladies, creeping thyme,
Agrimony, skirret, lime,
Gold-of-pleasure, bleeding heart,
Blessed thistle, spikenard;
Herb true love, false asphodel,
Venus flytrap, pimpernel,
Heart's ease, self-heal, loosestrife, rue,
Good King Henry, feverfew;
Quaker ladies, prickly pear,
Passion flower, maidenhair,
Teasel, groundzel, gillyflower,
Primrose, lily, virgin's bower;
Deadly nightshade, Solomon's seal,
Speedwell, horehound, camomille,
Dandelion, leopard's mane,
Alexander, spurge, plantain;
Creeping Charlie, Bouncing Bet,
Dutchman's breeches, never-wet,
Ladies mantle, touch-me-not,
Live-for-ever, bergamot.

(Tread-softly, Sweet William,
Forget-me-not, trillium.)

Janet Winn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European affiliations. One could again delight in the fresh air of the open sea.

Electoral considerations weighed also. The British people, to their honor be it said, desired peace, and did not go around with a chip on the shoulder, like so many light-brained Americans. Perhaps less to their credit, Britons also indulged the mirage of "a settlement" with the Soviet Union, in which all would be set right and peace assured. So, as each parliamentary election drew near – in 1955 and 1959 and now again in 1963 – the British Government redoubled its efforts for yet another Summit. In February 1959, Macmillan paid a twelve-day visit to the Soviet Union for "reconnaissance" of the Soviet position. That September, during the election campaign, he stated: ". . . within a few days the actual date of the 'summit' talks will be fixed." To be able to say so, was a substantial electoral asset. But when the Summit did come it was May 1960, after the U-2 incident, and there were no talks. How distant the parties must have been from that far-reaching acknowledgment of one another's legitimacy which is implied by the concept of "a settlement"!

The great, distinctively European issue now in contest between East and West is the future of the Germanies. On this issue, every British government has reflected the same basic thinking: firmness on Berlin; disinterest in German unification; willingness to recognize East Germany; open-mindedness to some form of "disengagement." On Berlin, Bevan laid down the line in 1948: ". . . We cannot abandon those stout-hearted Berlin democrats. . . ." Ten years later, Macmillan was equally staunch. He told the Russians stiffly that the British people were resolved to profit from the lesson of Munich: ". . . They are determined not to pursue a policy of appeasement or to be deterred by threats." But on unification, recognition, and disengagement, British governments have continuously held views other than those conventional in the Western alliance. The years have seen many fluctuations. Nevertheless the general cycle is now established. When the British are being more accommodating to their allies, Britain proposes only some limited form of recognition of eastern Germany. When the British are being less accommodating, they propose – on German territory, and without the condition of German consent – more or less extensive "disengagement" and "demilitarization."

In April 1951, Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Harold Wilson resigned their ministries in the Labour Government, protesting undue concentration on rearmament and curtailment of welfare expenditure. Bevan explained: ". . . We have allowed ourselves to be dragged too far behind the wheels of American diplomacy." How far has the dragging gone? In 1962, the British labor force numbered one-third the American; British men in the armed forces numbered less than one-sixth. Britain's Gross National Product was about one-seventh the American (at exchange-rate values); military expenditure was less than one-tenth. Clearly the dragging has not entirely succeeded. But, in Europe, Britain is not out of line. The verbally militant Western Germany now has a Gross National Product higher than Britain's, but Germany's planned military expenditure for 1963 would need to be increased by 10 percent to equal Britain's actual expenditure in 1962. Britain is now a representative country of western Europe, which has seceded not only from maintaining points of power on distant continents but also from providing independently for European defense.

This secession is grounded in preference, not poverty. Per capita income has indeed expanded more slowly in Britain since 1950 than in many other countries. Yet it has expanded quite as rapidly as in any long period of British history. In 1954, Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Conservative government, put forward the objective of doubling the British standard of living in twenty-five years. In the 19th Century, a doubling characteristically took Britain about fifty years, and the first fifty years of the 20th Century brought an increase of only about one-third. But, for those who are unmoved by remote histories, let recent facts suffice. The annual Gross National Product of Britain actually increased during 1952-62 by about six times the total 1962 expenditure on defense! Britain was getting richer. If national spending was on objects other than military power, choice made it so.

Nor has Britain been greatly burdened,

AN

ACCOMMODATION FROM

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Briefly:

you may purchase any book recently reviewed in *The New Republic* for 20 percent less than its retail price. Some of these books are listed in the coupon (below) with the bookstore prices and the lower rates to which you are entitled as a reader of *The New Republic*.

Your check must accompany the order. (We cannot bill you, because the bookkeeping and clerical costs would be prohibitive.)

You may order direct from us, as shown below. *Mail to*

THE NEW REPUBLIC
shipping department
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Please send me a copy of each book I have checked off below.

☐ Arendt: *Eichmann*
(retail price – $5.50) PRICE: $4.40

☐ Bazelon: *The Paper Economy*
(retail price – $6.95) PRICE: $5.56

☐ Hughes: *The Ordeal of Power*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

☐ Twain: *Letters from the Earth*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

☐ Callaghan: *That Summer in Paris*
(retail price – $5.00) PRICE: $4.00

☐ Burns: *Deadlock of Democracy*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

TOTAL:_____*

* My check for this amount is enclosed.

Name_____
(please print)

Street_____

City_____ Zone___ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in recent years, by an effort to provide capital for poor countries. There was no such effort. In 1960-62, British "grants paid abroad" *were* relatively high – by the standard which prevails *in the world – at* an average value equivalent to about $307 million per year, but British net long-term capital outflow averaged as little as $218 million. The total $525 million annually was provided comfortably out of British net receipts from abroad of interest, profits and dividends, averaging $726 million. Britain gave and invested abroad a part of the proceeds from British ownership abroad.

In April, 1963, the British people seems not very happy with its government. By October, the Conservatives will have been in office twelve years. A substantial part of the British public now appears to regard the Macmillan cabinet as incompetent and seedy. Mr. Harold Wilson is Labour's designated Prime Minister. It is not unlikely that Labour will win the next election. What difference would this make in British world policy?

Mr. Northedge reminds us that, in foreign policy, neither the accession of Labour in 1945 nor its departure in 1951 made much difference. This time, I would expect it to make more – though only as acceleration of recent trends. How? Succinctly, under Mr. Harold Wilson, I would expect Britain, while remaining (at least for the next years) in NATO, to move toward the foreign policy of Sweden: to abstain from power politics; to be a faithful member of the United Nations; to be indulgent toward all men and all societies; to engage in benevolences toward the poor – but not to a point of discomfort; to do nothing determinedly against any country – and nothing special for any. In this context, it would, I think, be British policy to interpret NATO rigorously as a defensive alliance against possible Russian aggression. No yielding on Berlin but no Acheson-type adventurism: no indulgence of wish-fancies that – if NATO military power is handsomely expanded – the Russians will be cowed into withdrawing from East Germany without a fight. Repeated explorations of "disengagement": these will be popular even if unproductive. Cancellation of the Nassau arrangements, now almost unanimously rejected by Labour, Liberal and independent opinion: Britain to hold no strategic nuclear weapons but to rely on the United States to have them. (Does this foreshadow the further concession to nuclear disarmament of requiring nuclear bases to be removed from the British Isles?) No lingering in Africa, though there be heartache over the wards who are abandoned when one goes. No new obligations of power in Asia – or indeed anywhere.

What else would Labour attempt? Why, of course, the highest object: to build Jerusalem, in England's green and pleasant land.

"UNREPORTED by the press that reported copiously on the death by murder of the postman William Moore while peace-marching through Alabama: in the cart he was dragging behind him was a large painted sign that had nothing to do with atom bombs or with intergation (or maybe, if you like, everything to do with them). It read: 'Wanted – the capture of Jesus Christ. He was an imposter.'"

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Send 25¢ to Dept. R-8, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

Crime and Punishment

by Gerald W. Johnson

A man driven by a passion for the cure of souls, as Willard Uphaus has been driven all his life, tends to reduce every kind of problem to an instance of the interaction of sin and grace; which over-simplification often confuses issues and blocks immediate action. Thus an aspiration to heighten the moral tone of mankind, while the hallmark of a noble character, is not seldom the hallmark also of a godawful nuisance.

Commitment
by Willard Uphaus
(McGraw-Hill; $0:00)

Suspicion that Dr. Uphaus may fall into this category is not entirely allayed by reading his own account of the series of events that culminated in his being imprisoned for a year in Boscawen jail in New Hampshire. It is fairly clear that he gave his persecutors more provocation than he realizes; but, taking for granted and allowing an appropriate discount for it, the story remains an account of as scandalous a prostitution of American juridical procedure as has ever blotted the record.

Briefly it tells how Uphaus was sentenced to a year, and served 363 days in the common jail for contempt of court. He was released two days before the expiration of his sentence for reasons never explained to him; but he suspects it was because, if the time of his release had been announced, there might have been demonstrations embarrassing to the authorities.

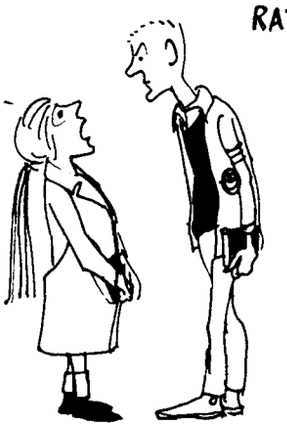
Uphaus had the assistance of able counsel who exhausted every resource the law provides to protect the rights of the accused, including two appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States. The outcome of his case is a demonstration that American law does not guarantee the liberty of an American citizen who is (a) besotted by, rather than dedicated to the cause of international peace, and (b) possesses a sense of honor superior to that of the most celebrated of all suppressers of subversive activities, the late Judas Iscariot.

The sequence of events was, first, Uphaus obtained control of a resort in the mountains of New Hampshire to which he invited, every summer, anyone who professed to be dedicated to the cause of peace; second, the white-livered element gaining control of the New Hampshire legislature put through a resolution empowering the Attorney General of the state to conduct a one-man investigation to determine to what extent New Hampshire was being infiltrated by Communists; third, the Attorney General demanded an accounting from Uphaus, which was promptly rendered in so far as Uphaus, his assistants, and his speakers were concerned. But the Attorney General demanded

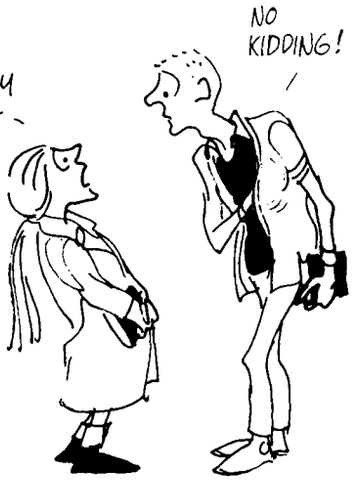
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

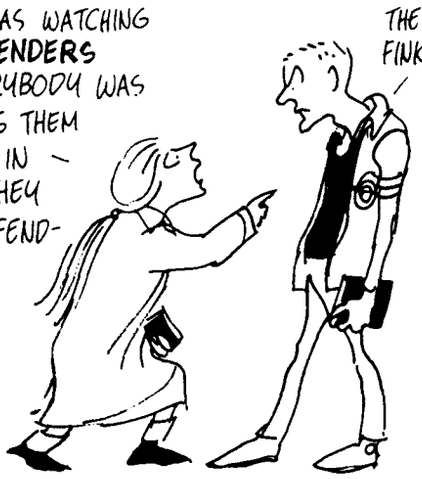
SO I WAS WATCHING **SAM BENEDICT** AND EVERYBODY WAS ATTACKING HIM BECAUSE IN COURT HE WAS DEFENDING A NAZI AND A COMMUNIST.



NOT **SAM BENEDICT!** WHY, DID YOU KNOW THAT IN THIS COUNTRY THE FIFTH AMENDMENT SAYS THAT EVERYONE NO MATTER **WHO** THEY ARE HAS THE RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL!

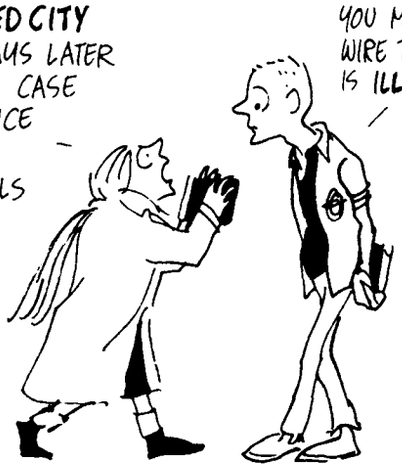


THEN I WAS WATCHING **THE DEFENDERS** AND EVERYBODY WAS ATTACKING THEM BECAUSE IN COURT THEY WERE DEFENDING AN ATHEIST.



WELL, NOT EXACTLY. DID YOU KNOW THAT IN THIS COUNTRY THE SUPREME COURT HAS SAID THAT IT'S NOT ACTUALLY AGAINST THE **LAW** TO NOT HAVE A RELIGION!

THEN ON **NAKED CITY** A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER THEY HAD THIS CASE WHERE THE POLICE TAPPED THESE TELEPHONE CALLS BUT THE CASE GOT THROWN OUT OF COURT!



YOU REALLY HAVE TO WATCH TELEVISION IF YOU WANT TO FIND SOMETHING OUT ABOUT THIS COUNTRY.

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also the names of all guests, most of whom were perfectly harmless and some not even pacifists – for example, a Negro doctor driving through New Hampshire, who lost his way and blundered into the place one night; finding that he was welcome regardless of his race, and that the place was charming, he stayed for a day or two. That man would certainly have been embarrassed and might have lost much of his practice if it had been announced in the newspapers that he had associated with "Communists."

These names Uphaus refused to turn over to the Attorney General, who thereupon cited him to court, where Uphaus refused again, and was sentenced to jail for contempt. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and later to the Supreme Court of the United States. These courts decided – the state Supreme Court by three to two, the United States Supreme Court by five to four – that every step taken had been legally correct, therefore nothing could be done for Uphaus, and he lay in jail for a year.

His status as a citizen forbids a layman to express any doubt that this decision is good law, even though four Justices dissented. But nothing compels him to believe that it was either good morals or good sense. The curious reasoning is that if Uphaus had been accused of crime he would have had a defense; but since he was not being prosecuted or threatened with prosecution, the protection guaranteed to every thief was denied him. Thus his government was within its legal rights in compelling him to choose between being a jailbird and being a skunk. He chose jail, and I, for one, believe that whatever odor of the cells may cling to him now is as attar of roses by comparison with the stink that attaches to the administration of justice in the State of New Hampshire.

Dr. Uphaus writes a swift, nervous prose that sometimes attains remarkable eloquence. His pictures of his jailmates, for example, are charming vignettes, and his own profession of faith is profoundly moving, which makes the book, as a literary product, easy and pleasant reading. But as a footnote to history it is terrifying. New Hampshire has recently legalized a state lottery based on horse-racing as a revenue measure. Jail for pacifists not even accused of breaking any law, and a warm welcome to the gambling fraternity constitute a singular demonstration of how the New England conscience operates in modern times.

Notes on Contributors

Philip Green *teaches politics at Princeton.* Janet Winn *is writing a volume of parodies.* Oscar Gass *(whose essay on "Britain after World Power" will be concluded in a subsequent issue) is at present a consulting economist in Washington, D. C.*

A Fabian Abroad

by Stanley Kauffmann

When Beatrice Potter became engaged to Sidney Webb in 1891, she wrote in her diary: "We are both of us second-rate minds, but we are curiously combined. . . . A considerable work should be the result. . . ." Retrospectively, at least, the last phrase is not unhumorous. Within seven years they had published their two-volume study of trade unionism, which they followed with their 15-volume work on English local governments, which they followed with other multiple intellectual births. Some other matters for which they were principally responsible were the founding of the Fabian Society, the *New Statesman,* and the London School of Economics and, in Lord Beveridge's phrase, "the effective organization . . . of an independent Labour Party."

Beatrice Webb's American Diary, 1898
edited by David A. Shannon
(Wisconsin; $4.50)

There is no ready parallel for their marriage besides the Curies. Two people produced one life-work and achieved what I would call secular sainthood except that it sounds forbidding. For, through all the prodigious labor, through the mounds of dull necessary sociological data, their story glows with a fire now sadly old-fashioned: moral passion. As for other emotions, Bernard Shaw wrote that Fabian gatherings in the Webbs' country house consisted of "mornings of dogged writing, all in our separate rooms; our ravenous plain meals . . . Beatrice throwing away her pen and hurling herself on her husband in a shower of caresses which lasted until the passion for work resumed its sway." We smile, but it is like smiling at Woodrow Wilson's love letters; we are glad to know that there is some resemblance between us and them.

Beatrice, who was beautiful, was the eighth daughter of a railway magnate and grew up in a household in which Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton were intimate. In her twenties Joseph Chamberlain proposed that she become his third wife. The thought that she might have been Neville Chamberlain's stepmother shakes the universe slightly. In 1892 she married Sidney Webb. He was eighteen months younger and several degrees lower in the social scale (he never quite lost his cockney accent), a civil servant who resigned to devote himself, with Beatrice and her income, to socialist writing and activity. Six years after their marriage, they decided to take a holiday between *opera,* almost all of which were *magna:* to travel westward around the world, combining investigations with pleasure. It was not the first trip to America for either of them.

Mrs. Webb kept a diary on her journey, the American portion of which, for reasons unstated, has not before been published. Professor Shannon has exhumed this portion from among the collected Webb papers in the London School library and presents it here with a helpful biographical index. His introduction chides the Webbs gently for not having done more background reading for their journey and particularly reproves Mrs. Webb for not having been better than she was. "That she was a superior person is clear," he generously concedes. "But she was also

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

insular because she was keenly aware of her superiority.... Such assurance stunted her potential stature." And kept her from being or doing what? one must ask.

The Webbs arrived in New York in March, 1898, traveled to Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, back to New York, to Cornell University, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, where Sidney was sick. They saw Denver and rested in the Rockies, visited Salt Lake City and Leadville, and sailed for Hawaii from San Francisco in July. (Beatrice Webb exploring Leadville is, in its way, almost as funny as Oscar Wilde in the West. It is surpassed only by the image of the Webbs riding in a Fourth of July procession in San Francisco.) Everywhere they went they had either friends or letters of introduction. They questioned assiduously, and Beatrice chronicled intensely and critically.

The record of governmental procedures, political organization, living conditions of workers, rent, wages, is not of much value in itself; this information is more fully available elsewhere. The interest is in what questions the Webbs asked and how the answers struck them, what they thought of what they saw. This was a visit to the newest democracy, "the last best hope," by two democratic socialists from an old country, and for all their several admirations, we see their disappointment that the new was, in so many ways, so far behind the old. The crux was not in the subject, worn even then, of European versus American political sophistication. Mrs. Webb was principally dismayed on two scores. The first was the confusion of democracy with commonplaceness. "The common run of Americans object to any pretention to a higher standard of intelligence, or any assertion of an original point of view as a direct denial of American democracy." Second – and more important – was her belief that the new country did not have the purity of motive to vitalize its fine new forms. Said the English socialist:

> "Even our landed aristocracy who are dominated by class interest and believe that their ownership of the land leads to the best of all possible worlds, habitually, when they hold public office, subordinate their personal if not their class interest to what they conceive to be the welfare of the nation.... No one in America seems to realize that good government rests not merely on democratic institutions but on the growth of a new motive, that of social service combined with the selection of men for the work of government according to their capacity for that work."

Generalizations by Beatrice Webb are not more perfectly true than those by anyone else; still, 65 years later, how many Americans can read these statements without a twinge of recognition?

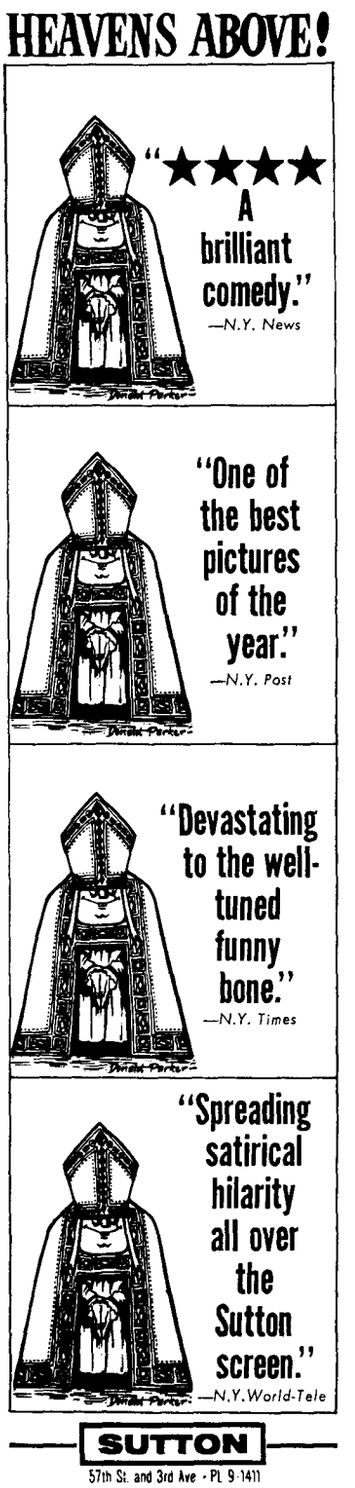
Like most British political visitors before and since, she was struck by the difference, in competence and status, between the British and American civil services. To this day the term "civil servant" denotes a profession in Britain and, vulgarly, the lack of one in the USA. She thinks the difference exists because the American governmental system is more concerned with checks and balances than with efficient practice, that a "permanent and trained civil service" would be outside these checks and would therefore be "'un-American'." (With prescience she puts quotes around the adjective.)

Her comments on corruption in office, on the rushed tempo of American life, on the rawness of new towns, are more or less what might be expected. About the Ivy League she notes: "Harvard society much like that of Oxford or Cambridge. Leisurely culture is the dominant note." "Yale – a pretty little conventional University." Respective alumni can thus judge Mrs. Webb's powers of perception.

Her most pleasant impression, aside from her appreciation of various landscapes and of domestic architecture, was in personal relations.

> "Who would recognize as distinctively American the essentially eccentric and ugly individuals portrayed by Dickens, Trollope and Martineau?... Of all the white races the Americans have today the most agreeable manners; they are the most adept in social amenities. ... The native-born citizen has his physical instincts well under control. He eats and drinks moderately; he respects womanhood, and chastity is the rule and not the exception."

We must wonder how Mrs. Webb learned the last. Perhaps one sees, in this area, what one hopes to see, and she was a notorious prude. She once called Shaw's Candida "a sentimental


HEAVENS ABOVE!
"★★★★ A brilliant comedy."
—N.Y. News
"One of the best pictures of the year."
—N.Y. Post
"Devastating to the well-tuned funny bone."
—N.Y. Times
"Spreading satirical hilarity all over the Sutton screen."
—N.Y. World-Tele
SUTTON
57th St. and 3rd Ave • PL 9-1411

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"...Brash, Bawdy, Delightful..."
JUDITH CRIST, N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
The Establishment
LONDON'S SATIRICAL REVUE
DINNER FROM 7 PM.
TWO SHOWS NIGHTLY: 9:00 & 11:30 PM
MAIL & PHONE RESERVATIONS PL 2-4711
Strollers Theatre-Club, 154 EAST 54TH

SERENDIPITY – What is it? Try us and see. Black and white photo finishing non-automated at automation prices, 5x7 - 33c; 8x10 - 42c; 11x14 - 95c; new negative 60c. 20 percent discount on Kodachrome developing by Kodak. Foto Portrait Co., 1174 Ogden Ave., New York City 42.

GERMAN-SPEAKING STUDENT desires immediate, permanent employment in Europe. Write 818 4th Avenue N.W., Minot, North Dakota.

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

Reporter 20 issues $3.27
Saturday Review 1 year $4.00 student
Sports Illustrated 30 issues $3.00
Reader's Digest 15 months $1.85
Inquire quotations, specific periodicals, popular, professional.
POLLOCKS MAGAZINE SERVICE
LITTLE SILVER, NEW JERSEY

U. S. Appeals Court for democracy vs. union "slander' trial. Full text with subscription to *Union Democracy in Action* $3.00 to Box 62, New York, N. Y.

CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC. Travel expert will arrange your tour, anywhere in Europe. Personally conducted, economical, why worry? Leave your travel problems to me. Write—Morris, Lista de Correos, San Antonio Abad, Ibiza, Spain.

ESPERANTO, THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE
"Teach Yourself" Kit $4
correspondence course $6, information free:
Young Esperantists of North America
30 Avenue B
New York 9, New York

HARPSICHORD KIT – A superb, authentic, full toned instrument for home workshop assembly, $150. Same instrument as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. Also Clavichord kit, $100. Free brochure. Please write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher Street, N.Y.C. 14.

QUAKER, DRIVING COSTA RICA mid-July to international community, exchange references with sharer of driving, expenses or companionship. 110 York, Brooklyn 1.

prostitute"!

Two further matters must be noted: Mrs. Webb's insight into character and – as her biographer, Margaret Cole, observed – her considerable literary gift. Mrs. Webb recognized the truly worthy among the many eminent that she met: Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Theodore Roosevelt ("the most remarkable man I have yet met in America"), Professor Woodrow Wilson ("attractive-minded"). She had a gift of phrase for those she especially liked or disliked. Senator Platt: "a mean-looking, dissenting-grocer sort of man." A judge: "His expression is discontented and soured, as if he had sold himself and not got his price." Roosevelt: "A short thick-set, bullet-headed man with an extraordinarily expressive face, all his features moving when he speaks."

During her lifetime Mrs. Webb published an autobiographical volume, *My Apprenticeship*, based on her diaries, which ended with her marriage. She prepared a continuing volume, *Our Partnership*, which went as far as 1912 and which contained a chapter about her 1898 visit, but this chapter was omitted by Mrs. Cole and Barbara Drake when they saw the volume posthumously through the press. Two published volumes of diaries begin in 1912 and thus do not contain the present material. We can be grateful to Professor Shannon for unearthing this diary as a small supplementary view of a great woman's mind and life.

In it one observes wryly, and again, how a visit to America brings out the last vestigial traces of snobbism and chauvinism in an English egalitarian; but let us not trouble with rebuttal or justification. Mrs. Webb claimed no more than that the diary was a "general impression"; besides, it was not – in this form – intended for publication. It is on the supernational, human level that the book has its chief value. There is more than a hint in it of the intellectual hubris, the exaltation of abstract, utopian principle that led the Webbs into unreality *vis-à-vis* Soviet Russia many years later. But these are the risks of theory. Even more clear in the book are single-mindedness, love of reason and knowledge, titanic energy, the perception that, though justice and truth may be poetic rather than political terms, they are nonetheless viable. Shaw once defined "the true joy in life" as "being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one." He might have been thinking of his friends the Webbs, whose lives, in this Promethean sense, were joyous.

VACATION WITH A PURPOSE!
An American Friends Service Committee Institute, July 14-21, 1963—Camp Pinebrook, Pa.
An informal, unstructured seminar offering programs for all age groups; a resource staff including Stringfellow Barr, James Bristol, Harrop Freeman, Toyo-Masa Fuse, Roy McCorkel, Joseph Monserrat, Robert Ryan.
For more information, write:
AFSC, Middle Atlantic Region, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Correspondence

Military Aid to Latin America

Sirs:

As a Peruvian and a journalist I feel called upon to refute the assertions made in an article signed by Alex Neish and published in your magazine in its issue of May 11, under the title of "On Military Aid." The military aid the United States offers Peru is based on the same principles as similar assistance it renders to other countries of this continent in response to mutual interests guaranteed by an Inter-American Defense Pact, whereby the United States finds an outlet for its weapons as they grow obsolescent and obtains a measure of control over continental military forces by supplying the necessary accessories and offering so-called military technical assistance, which in some countries operates through bases

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS
140 cities, 19 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.
BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

established on their territory and destined to perform a double function. In the case of Peru, our Army, for the same geographical reasons as that of Mexico, must remain up-to-date and perfectly trained in order to defend itself against any foreign aggressor before its territory is occupied or threatened, as in the case of Haiti and Santo Domingo, wherein national sovereignty was affronted in a matter of hours, even while the Organization of American States was preparing to intervene in the affair.

The Army has been cooperating in the improvement of education and agriculture, in economic development and in the construction of roads to link up the mountain towns with those of the coast. It should be remembered that more than 90 percent of its personnel is made up of poverty-stricken aboriginals and the other 10 percent comes from the people of modest means of the coastal and upland regions, and that it is the only Peruvian institution that has contributed toward the progress of the country, due precisely to the origin of its members, its discipline, its nationalistic and patriotic organization, its devotion to the defense of the national heritage and to the education of the citizenry, and its determination to incorporate the Indians of the mountains into the civilized community of the coastal regions.

Naturally, there have been, in the past, Army men who were prepared to ally themselves with oligarchical groups in order to exercise political influence; but those days are over and the new generations of officers think and act in accordance with the role assigned to them in the Constitution, and with a view to national reforms in keeping with the times we live in. The present Military Government Junta is an excellent example of this, for it is composed of genuine representatives of the Armed Forces and can be considered the first democratic Peruvian government whose patriotic aims are easily discernible in outstanding popular measures, such as:

1. A completely independent and anti-Marxist (but not anti-Yankee) foreign policy, embodying genuinely Peruvian national aspirations, such as was defined so patriotically by its Minister of Foreign Relations in a brilliant speech during the meeting of the most recent General Assembly of the UN.
2. An internal policy of social reform, with the drafting of new laws on tax reform, housing and agrarian reform aimed at helping the poor and creating the middle class which Peru lacks.
3. Strengthening of the internal economy by means of stabilization of foreign exchange rates.
4. Respect for civil liberties, with guarantees of individual rights and freedom of the press, without imprisonment nor persecution of anybody for ideas or political opinions, except in cases of subversion.

And their main concern at the moment is to prepare for the coming elections on June 9 of this year, in order to guarantee their honesty and make sure that the government is turned over to the true victor.

Pedro de Mesones
New York, N. Y.

JAPANESE HANDMADE PAPER

Comprehensive book-style catalogue, 108 samples tipped-in, with text and illustrations of papermaking

$3.50

IIS CRAFTS
CPO Box 1539
Tokyo, Japan

Africa Report

Special Issue on "AFRICAN SOCIALISM"

Africa's search for a non-Communist, non-capitalist political formula that will insure its "ideological independence" is the focus of a unique special May issue of the monthly Africa Report, most widely-circulated U. S. journal on African affairs.

Features three major articles by American scholars and more than 50 excerpts from speeches and writings (many heretofore unpublished) by a wide range of African intellectuals and political practitioners.

50 Cents per Copy

AFRICA REPORT
Dept. NR, Suite 505
Dupont Circle Bldg.
Washington 6, D. C.
U.S.A.

Adams 2-8840

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS WANTED! Radical, Intellectual, Social publications from left to right. Best commissions. Work in spare time at home. Estalished Firm. Free brochure. Wilcox Subscription Agency, Box 398, Lawrence, Kansas.

STAMPS
FIFTEEN PLEASANT OFFERS plus valuable information on stamps. Write Bileski Station B, Winnipeg, Canada.

SUBLET FURNISHED APARTMENT, July and August, New York City. Separate Bedroom. $145. Write Benedict, 143 East 35th Street, New York City.

CAMPING IN THE MIDWEST
Recreational and intellectual nourishment for the free spirit. Cooperative traditions with Folk Arts programs, work projects, crafts, hiking, Red Cross swim instruction. Unique family and unit camping facilities. 284 acres on Lake Stewart, Michigan. Write to:
CIRCLE PINES CENTER
DELTON, MICHIGAN

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

L'EXPRESS

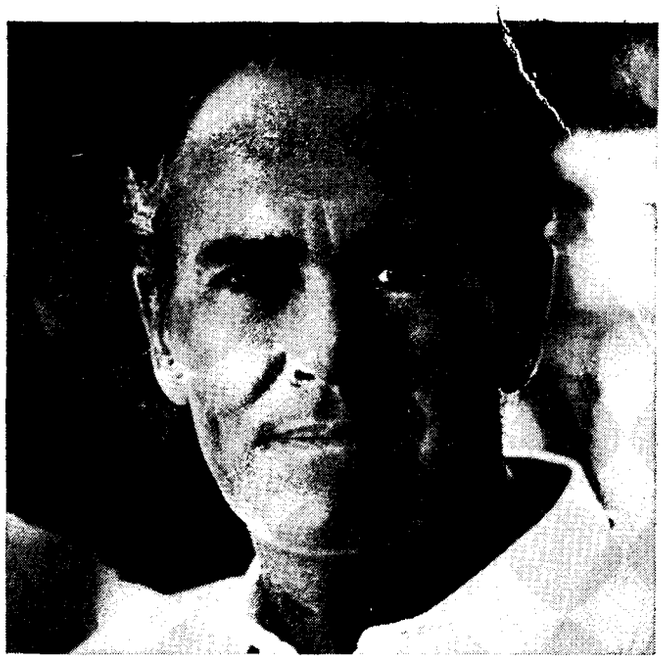
The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?

Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Mr. Henry Fonda,

distinguished American actor, is a member of the Hudson Book Club.

Discriminating readers find that membership in the HUDSON BOOK CLUB is a continuously satisfying experience. Economy is only one of the pleasures it affords.

If you take your reading seriously — if books play too important a role in your life to be chosen solely by their position on the bestseller list—then you, too, will enjoy associating yourself with others who share your tastes.

You will save an average of one-half on books you would ordinarily buy anyway—by means of low Members' Prices and free Bonus Books.

The current new membership offer (up to $28.50 worth of books for only $3.00) makes a cancellable trial membership especially inviting.

Why not join today without risk or obligation?

O'NEILL. The monumental biography by Arthur & Barbara Gelb. "An Everest of a book."—*Saturday Review.* "One is dragged into the very presence of greatness." — *Arthur Miller.* 1,000 pgs., illus. **List Price $12.50**

THE SILENT PAST. By Ivar Lissner. The author of *The Living Past* recreates the "lost worlds" that have haunted human history... from the not-entirely-mythical splendors of Atlantis to the modern archaeological findings in Stonehenge, Jericho, Carthage, Delphi, Bactria, Crete, Sardinia, Yucatan, and many more. **List Price $6.95**

TROPIC OF CANCER. By Henry Miller. The complete text with an introduction by Karl Shapiro. "One of the most significant contributions to the literature of our time."—*Sir Herbert Read.* **List Price $7.50**

THEATRE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. From Sartre (on Brecht) to Ionesco (on Pirandello), the major figures of the theatre in our time examine its techniques, its purposes, its absurdities (intentional and otherwise)...and dissect each other with no holds barred. Ed. by Robert W. Corrigan. **List Price $7.50**

THE ROTHSCHILDS. By Frederic Morton. A brilliant study of the almost legendary banking dynasty whose family history is part of the *secret* history of the past 150 years. Illus. with family portraits and photos. **List Price $5.95**

MYTHS OF THE HERO. By Norma Lorre Goodrich. From Egypt to India and Scandinavia, from Gilgamesh to Roland. Never before collected in one volume; many never before translated. 100 illustrations. **List Price $12.50**

SPECULATIONS ABOUT JAKOB. By Uwe Johnson. The astounding work of fiction that signals the return of Germany to the arena of world literature. "A new creative voice...a name to conjure with...a fascinating novel." — *N.Y. Times Book Review.* "Magnificent unique prose. A great new talent."—*Kay Boyle.* **List Price $4.50**

TROPIC OF CAPRICORN: By Henry Miller. "A *moral* work of great perception and feeling. The forces of censorship haven't a prayer against Miller's strength, conviction, and vitality."—*Richard Seaver.* **List Price $7.50**

THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS. Karl Jaspers invites us to share the philosophies (and the deepest meaning) of Socrates, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Plato, Augustine, Kant. **List Price $8.50**

BLACK SPRING. By Henry Miller. First American publication of the third volume in his world-famous forbidden trilogy. "A remarkable work of art. How could this ever be called pornographic?" — *Maxwell Geismar.* **List Price $5.00**

CITY OF NIGHT. By John Rechy. This novel about a male prostitute is electrifying the literary world. "A wild descent into hell. Unforgettable." — *Herbert Gold.* "A humbling and liberating achievement." — *James Baldwin.* **List Price $5.95**

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD. By Ernest Jones. One-volume edition of "one of the great biographies of our time." —*The Atlantic.* Ed. and abridged by Lionel Trilling & Steven Marcus. **List Price $7.50**

THE ESSENTIALS OF ZEN BUDDHISM. Selected from the writings of Daisetz T. Suzuki. Ed. by Bernard Phillips. **List Price $7.50**

THE WILL OF ZEUS. By Stringfellow Barr. A history of Greece that is also a consummate literary achievement. Written with power, grandeur and beauty. Illus. **List Price $10**

FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO. By Geoffrey Bibbey. Life in the millennium which saw the birth of Abraham, the building of Stonehenge, the glory of Egypt, sack of Troy, and fall of Knossos. Illus. **List Price $6.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT NOW!

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N.Y.

You may enroll me as a trial member of the HUDSON BOOK CLUB and send me these THREE selections for only $1 each.

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

☐ Please bill me $3.00 plus shipping charge.

☐ I enclose $3.00. Club will pay shipping.

Forthcoming selections and alternates will be described to me in a Monthly Advance Bulletin and I may decline any book simply by returning the printed form always provided. I agree to buy as few as four additional selections (or alternates) at the reduced Member's Price during the next twelve months; and I may resign at any time thereafter. I will receive a free BONUS BOOK for every four I accept after this introductory offer.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

NR - 191

GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied with this Special Offer, you may return the selections within 7 days and your membership will be cancelled.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED